JULY 1, 1955 20 CENTS

U.S. News & World Report

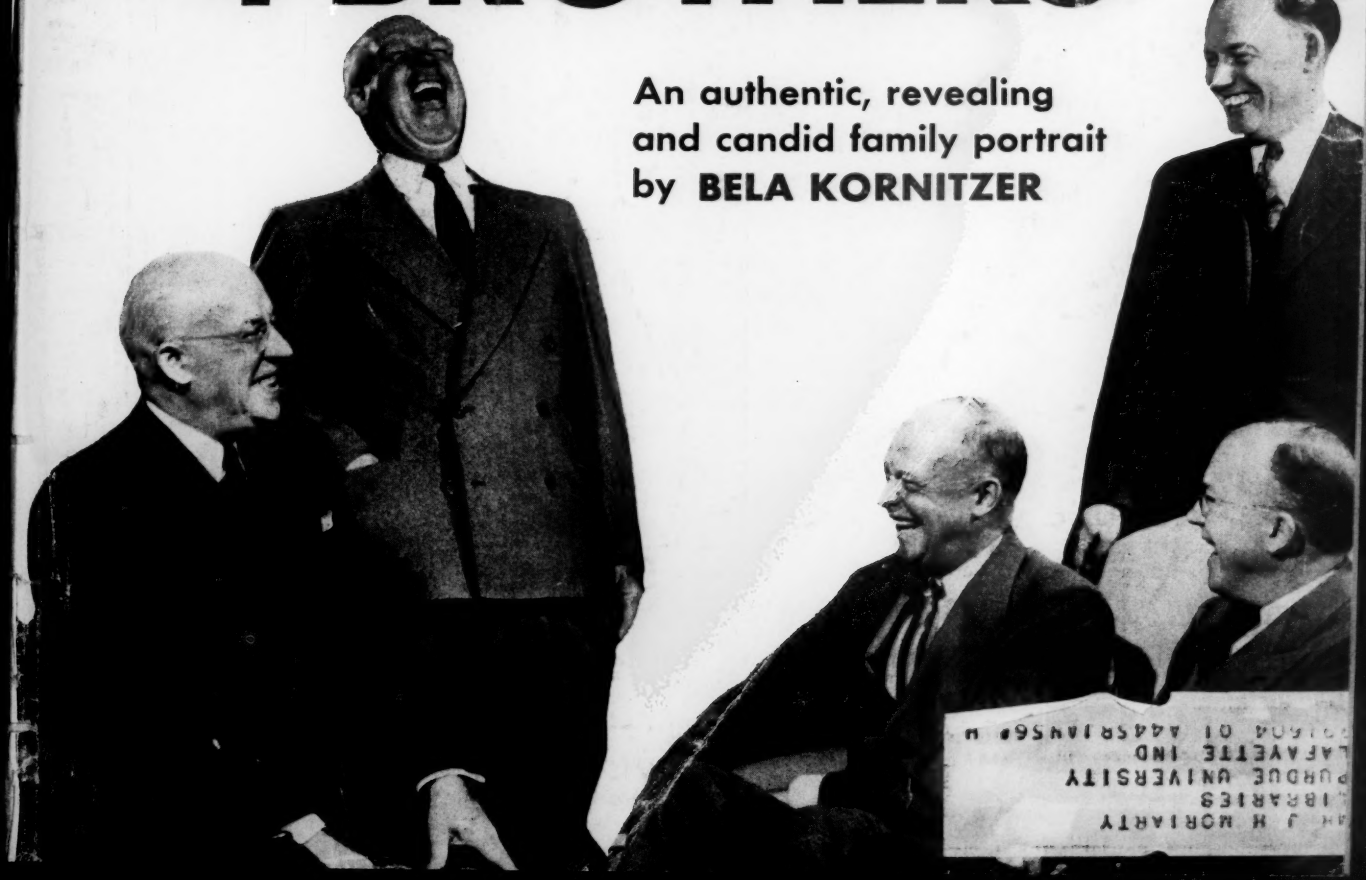
The United States News ® World Report ®

IS POLIO VACCINE SAFE NOW?

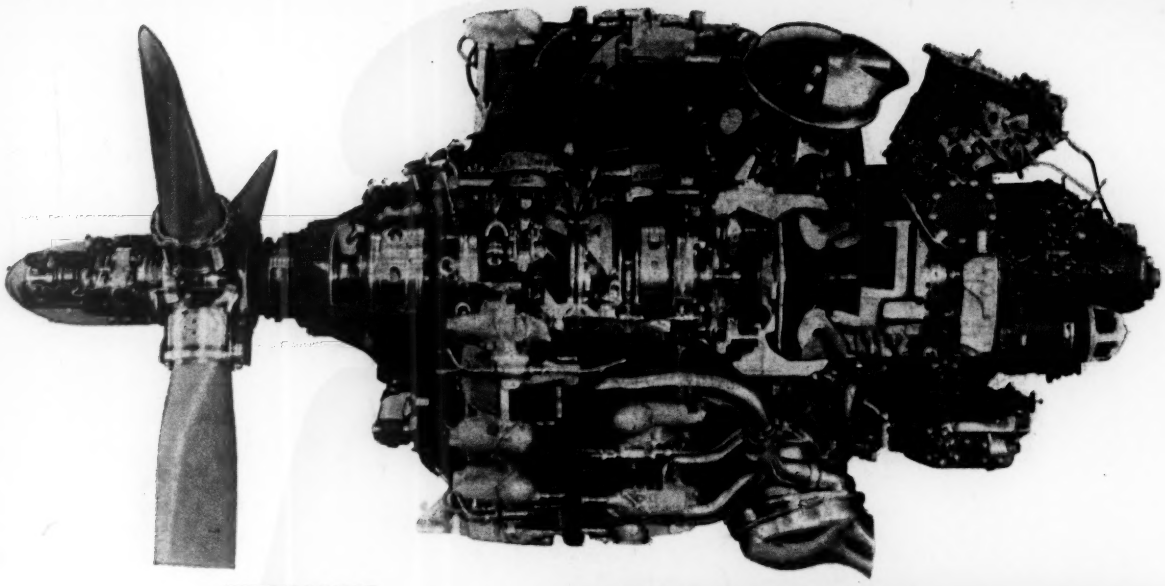
The Story of IKE and his 4 BROTHERS

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
JUN 28 1955
LIBRARY

An authentic, revealing and candid family portrait by **BELA KORNITZER**



PURDUE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES
LAFAYETTE IND

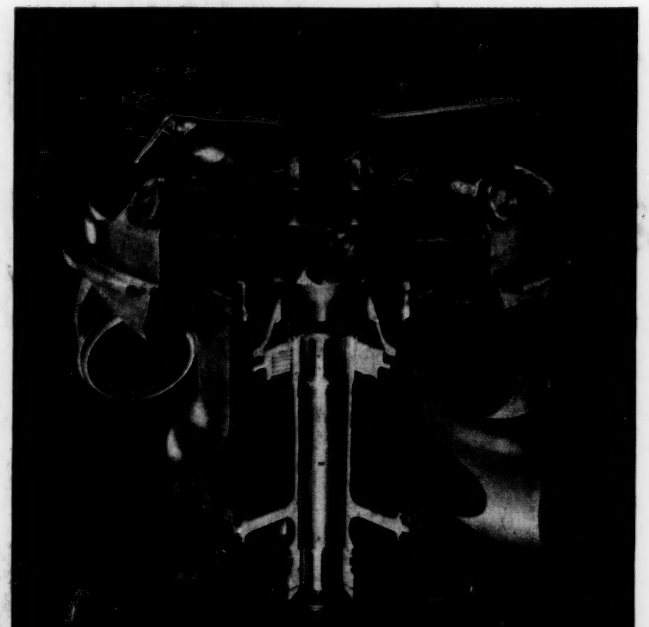


CURTISS-WRIGHT
Turbo Compound Engines are in use by 30 World Airlines plus leading military aircraft

Kelsey-Hayes helps put 20% power bonus into Curtiss-Wright engines

One more example of Kelsey-Hayes diversity at work for major industries throughout America

Any way you translate it—*20% longer range, 20% less fuel, 20% more payload*—power recovery turbines on the Curtiss-Wright Turbo Compound engine mean greater operating economy. The entire power recovery unit—requiring 2000 close tolerance machining operations—is manufactured to highest engineering standards by the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company, Detroit 32, Michigan.



CROSS SECTION of the velocity-type, power recovery turbine unit manufactured for Curtiss-Wright by Kelsey-Hayes. The unit consumes no fuel. Exhaust gases are piped directly to the turbine and converted to usable power. There is no harmful back pressure. Effective operation is assured at all speeds and altitudes.

KELSEY HAYES

World's Largest Producer of Automotive Wheels

Wheels, Brakes, Brake Drums, Special Parts for all Industry • 9 Plants — Detroit and Jackson, Mich.... McKeesport, Pa.... Los Angeles ... Windsor, Ont., Canada ... Davenport, Ia. (French & Hecht Farm Implement and Wheel Div.)

Economics American style

HER *mother* could carry a day's purchases under one arm; *she* needs a cart. Why? Greater values, better quality, better wages—brought about by better production methods — *always* increase sales.

And when millions of women buy cart loads instead of arm loads, millions of new jobs are created, at better pay, and more stable employment.

It's the same with automobiles, clothing, everything else—*values* are what create buyers and *buyers* are all that can create jobs. If the value of an article is great enough, the man who makes it will have a job, but if the value isn't there, all the laws in the world can't make people buy. And, of course, value comes from *modern machines well used* . . . manager plus worker. That's economics, American style.

Electro-Cycle Lathe producing brass valve bodies

WARNER & SWASEY
Cleveland
PRECISION MACHINERY SINCE 1880

YOU CAN PRODUCE IT BETTER, FASTER, FOR LESS WITH WARNER & SWASEY MACHINE TOOLS, TEXTILE MACHINERY, CONSTRUCTION MACHINERY

IN THIS ISSUE

★ What Russia Wants Now: Molotov Shows His Hand

Latest moves in the "cold war" turn up in diplomacy at San Francisco, show what to expect from the Big Four talks. The U.S. is attacked by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. A Cuban answers him sharply. Secretary of State Dulles defines America's position. The story of a new chill in world politics starts on page 74.

★ Pensions: More, Quicker, Bigger?

Pension benefits for women at lower ages, social security for doctors and lawyers, tax benefits for annuity buyers are on the way. For what to expect soon, see page 26.

★ Can Fortunes Still Be Made in the Market?

In the longest of all bull markets, stock prices have multiplied several times. Investors count fortunes. How long can prices rise? For answers, see page 108.

★ Contents

March of the News 4
Tomorrow: A Look Ahead 9
Washington Whispers 12
People of the Week 16
Summer Slump: How Much? 21
3 Ex-GI's Who Got "Fed Up" 24
Cradle-to-Grave Security for More People 26
★Is Polio Vaccine Safe Now?
Top Experts Answer Questions 30
Perón Still Stands, but Not Alone 41
If War Comes, What Business Can Expect 44
★The Story of Ike and His 4 Brothers
—A Family Portrait, by Bela Kornitzer 46
A Race for Atom Markets 53
The Arts: "Cold War" Weapon for U. S. 57
Worldgram 61
Where Communism Is Booming 63
How Reds Are Plotting to Grab Indonesia
—By a Former Indonesian Official 64
Memo From Japan 66
The Man—The News:
Joseph Dodge—Ike's Trouble Shooter 68
"Cold War" Flares Again—Molotov Tips
Kremlin's Hand: Speeches to U. N. 74
We've Been Asked:
How Draft Law Changes 87
News-Lines for Businessmen 88
News You Can Use 91
Industry Can't Seem to Expand Enough 93
Ike Tells How U. S. Will Work for Peace
—President's Speech to U. N. 96
Labor Week:
Reds Back at Their Old Game 99
Trend of Business 103
World's Largest Business: Can Savings
Be Made?—From Hoover Report 106
Finance Week:
Where Stock Prices Are Up Most 108
Indicators of Business Activity 110
Business Around the World 111
David Lawrence Editorial 144

COVER: Ike and His Four Brothers (seated: Arthur, Dwight, Milton; standing: Edgar, Earl). See page 46. (Copyright photo by Phillipe Halsman)

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of the local telegraphic and cable news published herein, originated by U. S. News & World Report or obtained from The Associated Press.

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
Circulation Department, 437 Parker Ave., Dayton 1, Ohio

Please enter my subscription to U. S. News & World Report for one year and send bill to me. (U. S., its possessions and Canada, $5, other countries, $6.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

NHW 26

THE UNITED STATES NEWS

WORLD REPORT

U. S. WEEKLY
Three Titles Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

Published weekly at Washington, D. C., Editorial and Executive Offices, the United States News Building, 24th & N Streets, N.W., Washington 7, D. C. Subscription rates, delivered prepaid, to United States, its possessions and Canada, $5 for one year, $8 for two years, $10 for three years. Postage to other countries $1 a year additional. Entered as second-class matter at the post office Washington, D.C., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Entire contents of this publication copyrighted 1955 by United States News Publishing Corporation. Rights reserved under Pan American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Convention.

BOARD OF EDITORS

DAVID LAWRENCE, *Editor*
OWEN L. SCOTT, *Executive Editor*
BEN. J. GRANT, L. NOBLE ROBINSON, *Assistant Executive Editors*
CARSON F. LYMAN, *Managing Editor*
WALTER HUSTED, *General News Editor*
DEREK FOX, *Art Editor*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

W. B. RAGSDALE, GEORGE W. BOLTON, RICHARD L. TURNER, GLENN WILLIAMS, M. L. RAMSAY, W. C. BRYANT, JOHN H. ADAMS, GEORGE E. JONES, FRED M. HARMON, JULES B. BILLARD, ARCHIE ROBINSON, ROBERT GINSBURGH, LEONARD WILLIAMS, DONALD P. DOANE, CHARLES M. PLATT, CLARKE BEACH, J. FRANK DIGGS, GRANT SALISBURY

A. S. McLEOD, *Chief Economic Unit*
PHILIP H. BOLLINGER, CHARLES H. DAVEY, JOHN B. BLEDSOE, THOMAS H. F. HUGHES

Regional Editors: New York—GILMORE IDEN, FRED VANDERSCHMIDT; San Francisco—EDWIN J. DRECHSEL

NEWS EDITORS

TURNER ROSE, DONALD BECKER, WILLIAM H. RIEBOLD, JOHN P. SUTHERLAND, THURBER W. CUSHING, L. DAVID LeROY, F. W. GAPP, F. E. GALBRAITH, JR., N. KEY HART, CLAIR JOHNSON, FRED A. EMERY, FRED C. PAINTON

Assistant News Editors: Barbara Blair Furlow, Iva Holland, Lucy Cobb Jones.

Research: Catherine Adams, Barbara Eddy, Mabel S. Groettum, Thomas E. Russell, Donald Smith.

WORLD STAFF

HOWARD FLIEGER, *Directing Editor*
JOHN R. FLEMING, *Associate Director*

CHARLES FOLTZ, JR., *European News Editor*
CLARK H. GALLOWAY, *Inter-American News Editor*
PERRY K. SELLON, *Editor, World Business*

CHARLES H. KLINE, *Associate Editor, London*

REGIONAL EDITORS ABROAD

ROBERT KLEIMAN ..... Western Europe
KURT LACHMANN ..... Central Europe
JOHN D. LAW ..... Southern Europe
JOE FROMM ..... Southeast Asia
ROBERT P. MARTIN ..... Japan and the Far East
ALBERT J. MEYERS ..... United Kingdom

BUREAUS: LONDON, PARIS, BONN, ROME, SINGAPORE, TOKYO

ART DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON

H. KLEBANOFF, *Director*, J. Ernest Beavin, H. C. Richardson, Walter O. Gretschel, E. H. Castens, M. J. Shimp
Staff Photographer: Thomas J. O'Halloran, Jr.

LUTHER A. DAWSON, *Librarian*

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

24th & N Sts., N.W. Washington 7, D. C.
JOHN H. SWEET, *Publishing Director*
ANTHONY R. GOULD, *Business Manager*
HAROLD M. WELLS, *Executive Secretary*
W. L. BRAUER, *Treasurer*

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.
Tel. Circle 6-3366
H. L. BEHLKE, *Director of Advertising*

NORMAN O. MICK, *Associate Advertising Director*
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill.
Tel. Dearborn 2-4042

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

435 Parker Avenue, Dayton 1, Ohio
W. W. SPURGEON, *Manager*

PRODUCTION OFFICE

RALPH M. FRANCISCO, *Manager*
350 Dennison Avenue, Dayton 1, Ohio
Tel. Melrose 9231

All communications relating to news or editorial matters should be addressed to the Executive Offices, 24th & N Streets, N.W., Washington 7, D.C. Tel. District 7-2900. Communications relating to subscriptions should be addressed to Circulation Department, 435 Parker Avenue, Dayton 1, Ohio

PHOTO COURTESY CONCRETE TRANSPORT MIXER CO., ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

CHRYSLER *with gýrol Fluid Coupling . . . powers the Rocket, saves weight for added payload, protects equipment*

Off and running with the new building season is this 4½-cubic-yard Rocket Transit Mixer. It is pouring concrete for a dwelling basement in Youngstown, Ohio.

The operator stands at the controls grouped at the rear of the mixer. Hydraulically controlled chute with aluminum extension enables fast, onto-the-spot discharge. An electrical revolution counter enables operator to regulate mixing action to meet highly specialized requirements. The Rocket Mixer employs a continuous blade design claimed to give faster, more efficient mixing action.

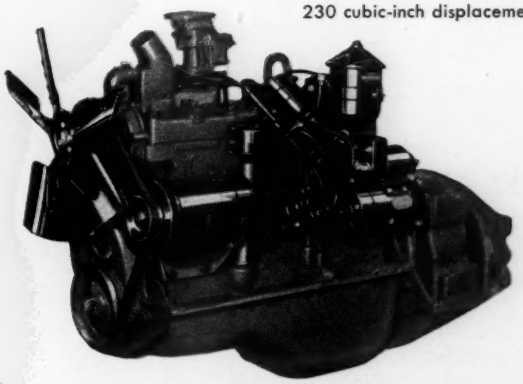
Up front behind the truck cab, the Rocket packs a Chrysler Industrial 30 Engine—part of its standard equipment. Between engine and Chrysler-supplied three-speed transmission is the highly regarded Chrysler gýrol Fluid Coupling. Equipped in this manner, the Rocket Mixer offers its users a 230-cubic-inch displacement engine—an engine with ample power, yet lightweight to permit maximum payloads. Chrysler gýrol Fluid Coupling transmits engine power smoothly, at the same time absorbing shock loads, protecting engine and drive line, adding years to the life of the equipment.

In selecting Chrysler Industrial Engines to power their equipment, manufacturers know they can specify Chrysler Engines factory-equipped to meet their needs. An extra large selection of optional equipment is available for their choosing.

When you offer customers Chrysler-powered construction equipment, you offer them power they know and respect, and you assure them of top performing equipment. Remember that Chrysler Industrial Engines are not expensive. Production-line methods adapted to specialized industrial engine building provide custom-built engines at mass-production prices.

See a Chrysler Industrial Engine Dealer or write: ***Dept. 47, Industrial Engine Division, Chrysler Corporation, Trenton, Michigan.***

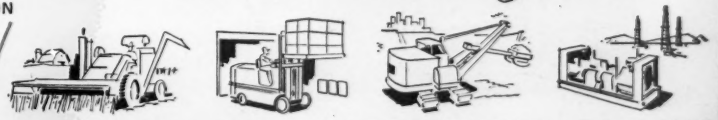
CHRYSLER INDUSTRIAL 30 Engine
230 cubic-inch displacement



CHRYSLER *Industrial Engines*

INDUSTRIAL ENGINE DIVISION • CHRYSLER CORPORATION

HORSEPOWER WITH A PEDIGREE



AGRICULTURE • INDUSTRY • CONSTRUCTION • OIL FIELDS

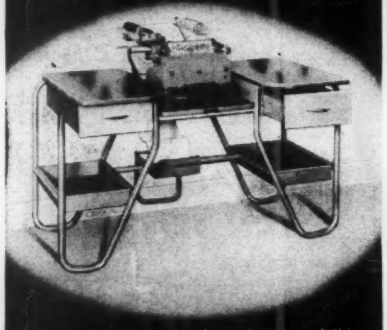
For Workers who get Thirsty

Workers get a special "lift" from a clean, cool drink of water. And for industry, there's even a special explosion-proof water cooler in Frigidaire's complete line.

Frigidaire Water Coolers Dayton 1, Ohio

Built and Backed by General Motors

Shakes? NOT THIS STAND



The welded tubular steel construction of this Hercules® business machine stand prevents vibration, thus protects valuable machines. It is a model of efficient design: speeds operator's work, reduces fatigue, conserves floor space. Drawers slide smoothly, silently on nylon glides. Black, gray, brown or lime green with matching or contrasting care-free Vibrex tops. At your dealer or write The Meilink Steel Safe Company, 1672 Oakwood Ave., Toledo 6, Ohio.

$56.50

Drawers and trays extra

Slightly higher West of Mississippi

The March of the News

IKE IN NEW ENGLAND

AS WASHINGTON BEGAN to swelter in the year's first heat wave, President Eisenhower set off on a six-day swing through Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. In cool New England, Mr. Eisenhower soon found the second-term heat was on.

Republican leaders flocked to greet him at every stop. So did the crowds. U. S. Senators and local politicians turned on the pressure in speeches and in private talks. The President didn't seem to mind.

In Concord, N. H., Mr. Eisenhower tantalized his audience with a jocular hint as to his 1956 intentions. The White House staff, he told a crowd of 20,000, often gets a lecture on the merits of New Hampshire from Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President and former Governor of that State. Said Mr. Eisenhower: "People often ask me what my ideas are on how long I would like a residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. My own thought is, they should ask how long it is going to take Governor Adams to finish up his series of lectures on New Hampshire, because he doesn't seem to be a third of the way through them yet."

PASSPORT IS A "RIGHT"

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN has a constitutional right to a passport, the U. S. Court of Appeals has ruled in a landmark decision. The State Department cannot withhold a citizen's passport without "due process of law," the court held.

The three-man court ruled: "The right to travel . . . is a natural right . . . The Government may not arbitrarily restrain the liberty of a citizen to travel."

MOSCOW'S SMILING FACES

INDIA'S JAWAHARLAL NEHRU was "seeing Red" after a lavish reception in Moscow. "Part of my heart" remains in Russia, Mr. Nehru said in a farewell statement.

Besides part of his heart, Mr. Nehru left behind a declaration of solidarity with the views of Soviet leaders on nuclear weapons, disarmament, the Formosa problem and other international issues.

Soviet First Deputy Premier Lazar M. Kaganovich was delighted. At a reception attended by Western newsmen, he offered to write their stories for them: "Write it this way! You saw smiling faces, shining eyes and great liveliness." Warming to his task, Mr. Kaganovich invented a dialogue between reporters and First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan. Kaganovich playfully suggested that the newsmen write: "In reply to a question on how the talks have gone, Mikoyan said: 'It is enough just to see us.'"

RED FLIERS DEFECT

TWO NORTH KOREAN airmen dropped into Seoul, South Korea, with a Russian-built Yak-18 and some useful information. One was a jet pilot who got his training at a Russian school at Kiev; the other was a navigator.

Between 250 and 300 MIG jet fighters now are stationed in "MIG Alley" along the North Korean border, they said. Capt. Lee Un Yong, the pilot, told the sequel to the 1953 flight of a North Korean pilot who collected a $100,000 reward from the U. S. for turning over a Russian-built MIG. After that episode, Captain Lee reported, the chief of North Korea's Air Force was demoted. His job went to Lieut. Gen. Han Il Mo, a citizen of the Soviet Union.

POLIO AMONG ADULTS

DR. ALBERT B. SABIN, of the University of Cincinnati, came up with some findings about polio that had not been widely known. Many young adults, between 21 and 30 years of age, have "no demonstrable immunity" to all three types of polio, the doctor told a congressional committee. "The disease occurs with great frequency in young adults and, furthermore, is much more severe in those in later life than in the earlier years."

Economic status also can be a factor, Dr. Sabin found. "Generally, paralysis is more frequent in the middle and higher-income groups than in the lower-income groups." This paradox occurs, the doctor explained, because persons in the lower-income groups often are exposed to infection very early in life, enabling them to build up an immunity.

TOO MUCH RED TAPE

WHEN THEY ARE NOT buying from private industry, Government agencies are likely to be buying from each other. Twice a year, the General Services Administration gets up a fat catalogue of items declared excess by each agency, and available at cost to other agencies.

Among the 11,000 items to be listed by GSA in its catalogue for July, 1955: red tape, egg beaters, diaper cloth, safety pins, parachutes and snake-bite kits.

Drivers are always within earshot with Bell System mobile facilities

You get the most efficient use of company vehicles when you can reach your driver directly by telephone at any time. The Bell System offers several types of Mobile Radio arrangements.

General Service: Your fleet can be reached from any telephone. Also, your drivers can call any telephone reached by the Bell System.

Dispatching Service: Your dispatcher can talk to any units in your fleet.

Signaling Service: Your drivers can be signaled over this one-way service and carry out any prearranged instructions, such as calling your office from a public telephone.

Private Mobile Systems: Radio equipment will be provided and maintained for eligible radio licensees. You get the advantages of Bell System engineering, installation and maintenance experience.

Mobile communications can be engineered to meet your specific requirements. For a free survey of your needs, simply call your Bell Telephone business office.

BELL
TELEPHONE
SYSTEM

TELEPHONE TELETYPEWRITER MOBILE RADIO

I am

I was born on July 4, 1776, and the Declaration of Independence is my birth certificate. The bloodlines of the world run in my veins, because I offered freedom to the oppressed. I am many things, and many people. *I am the nation.*

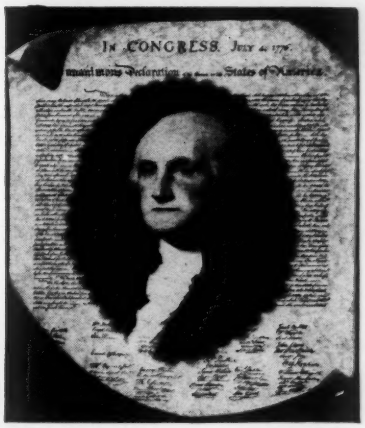
I am 165 million living souls—and the ghost of millions who have lived and died for me.

I am Nathan Hale and Paul Revere. I stood at Lexington and fired the shot heard around the world. I am Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry. I am John Paul Jones, the Green Mountain Boys, and Davy Crockett. I am Lee and Grant, and Abe Lincoln.

I remember the Alamo, the Maine and Pearl Harbor. When freedom called, I answered and stayed until it was over, over there. I left my heroic dead in Flanders Fields, on the rock of Corregidor, and on the bleak slopes of Korea.

I am the Brooklyn Bridge, the wheat lands of Kansas, and the granite hills of Vermont. I am

the Nation...



the coalfields of the Virginias and Pennsylvania, the fertile lands of the West, the Golden Gate and the Grand Canyon. I am Independence Hall, the Monitor and the Merrimac.

I am big. I sprawl from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 3 million square miles throbbing with industry. I am more than 5 million farms. I am forest, field, mountain and desert. I am quiet villages — and cities that never sleep.

You can look at me and see Ben Franklin walking down the streets of Philadelphia with his breadloaf under his arm. You can see Betsy Ross with her needle. You can see the lights of Christmas, and hear the strains of *Auld Lang Syne* as the calendar turns.

I am Babe Ruth and the World Series. I am 169,000 schools and colleges, and 250,000 churches where my people worship God as they think best. I am a ballot dropped in a box, the roar of a crowd in a stadium, and the voice of a choir in a cathedral. I am an editorial in a newspaper, and a letter to a Congressman.

I am Eli Whitney and Stephen Foster. I am Tom Edison, Albert Einstein and Billy Graham. I am Horace Greeley, Will Rogers, and the Wright brothers. I am George Washington Carver, Daniel Webster and Jonas Salk.

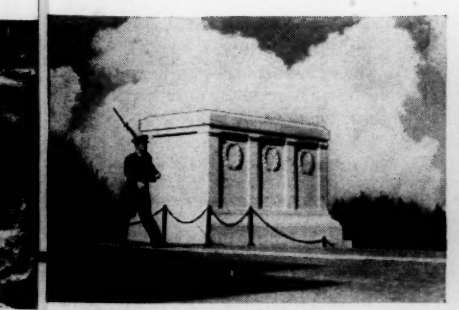
I am Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Walt Whitman and Thomas Paine.

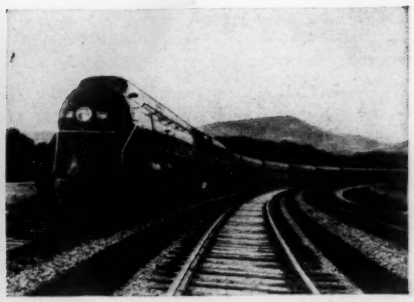
Yes, I am the nation, and these are the things that I am. I was conceived in freedom and, God willing, in freedom I will spend the rest of my days.

May I possess always the integrity, the courage and the strength to keep myself unshackled, to remain a citadel of freedom and a beacon of hope to the world.

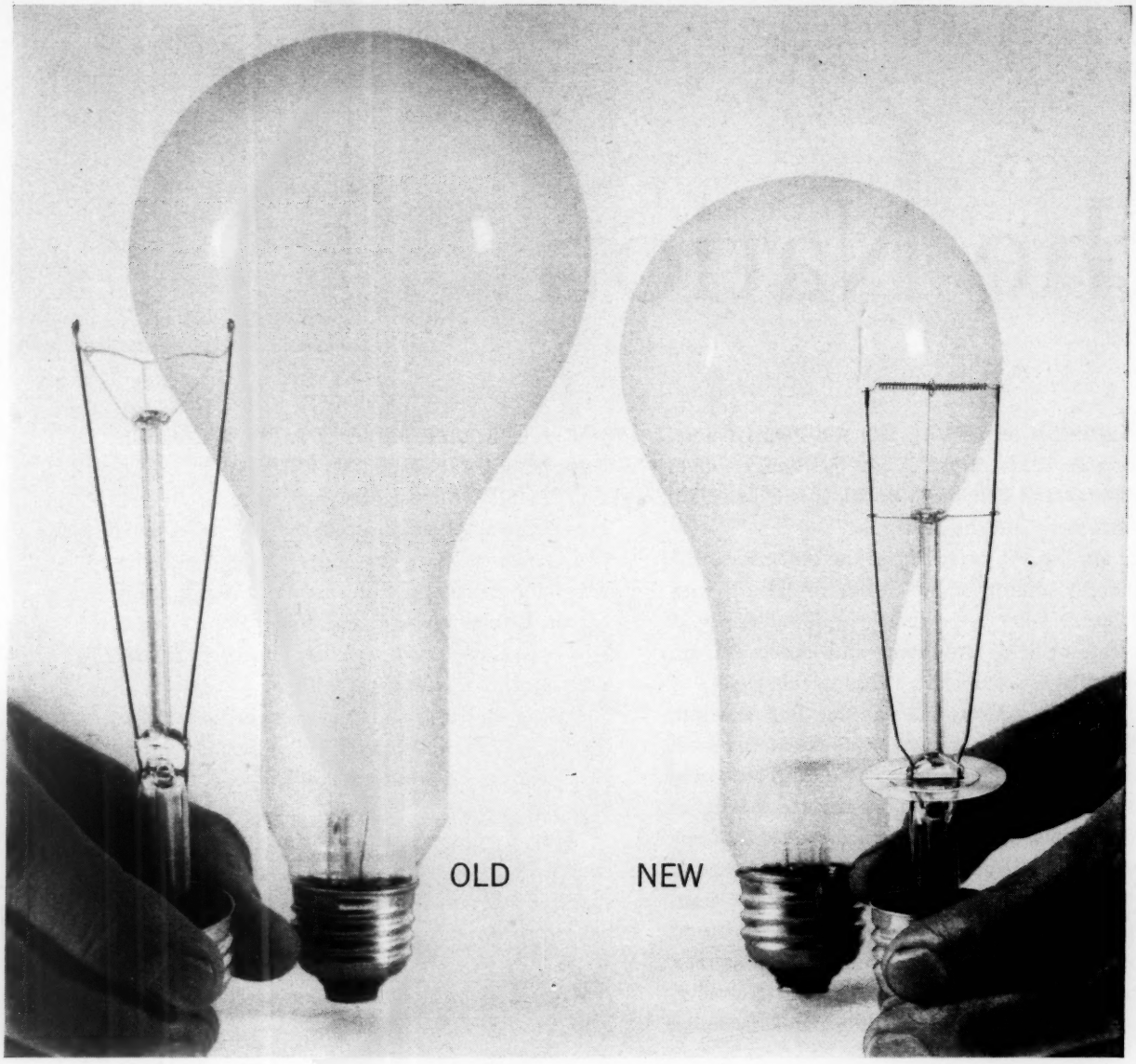
This is my wish, my goal, my prayer on July 4, 1955 — one hundred and seventy-nine years after I was born.

Norfolk and Western Railway





G-E LAMPS GIVE YOU MORE FOR ALL YOUR LIGHTING DOLLARS



New General Electric 200-watt bulb takes less space, but gives more light.

A NEW General Electric 200-watt bulb, shorter and slimmer than the old one, fits into fixtures and lamps that would formerly take nothing larger than a 150-watt bulb.

The new G-E bulb gives about 3% more light than the old one. In the new bulb, the filament is an efficient *coiled* coil, which needs only one support. The filament of the old bulb is a single coil which needs three fine-wire supports. Although these support the filament firmly, they tend to cool it and slightly reduce the light. Based on average operating costs, the extra light of the new bulb is worth 7¢ to 10¢ over the life of the bulb.

Though the new design puts the hot filament closer to the base, the new General Electric 200-watt bulb is safe to use even in paper-lined sockets. That's because of a heat-reflecting disc of aluminum between the base and the filament.

With all this extra value built in, the new bulbs list at a penny *less* than the old. For more facts on how General Electric gives you more for *all* your lighting dollars, write for a 16-page G-E progress report to lamp users. It's free, just write General Electric Company, Dept. 482-US-7, Nela Park, Cleveland 12, Ohio.

Progress Is Our Most Important Product

GENERAL ELECTRIC

FROM THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Tomorrow®

A LOOK AHEAD

Newsgram®

24th and N Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

At this point, barely 18 months before nominating time:

Ike, obviously, is enjoying his job. Controversy is at a minimum. People, in all parts of the country, seem friendly. The work isn't too hard.

Why resist? Why insist upon retiring if people want it otherwise? Eisenhower almost surely is going to be a pushover for a draft.

Stevenson appears to be the one Democrat anxious to take on Ike.

Democrats, generally, seem convinced that Eisenhower will be the man to beat in 1956. As a result, the hesitation among candidates is noticeable.

Strategy of Democrats who run Congress, instead of picking a fight, is to play along, to avoid open conflict, to hope that something may happen. Feeling is that the country's mood is not for controversy at this time.

Stevenson, against Ike, will need all of the breaks to have a chance.

Eisenhower's policy is to play down disputes both at home and abroad. Threats, loud talk, anger are beginning to seem almost out of place.

Ike expects little to come from his talks with Bulganin. Top Soviet officials are back at their old game of insulting U.S., twisting words in an effort to turn black into white, reviving emphasis upon subversion, not war.

The Eisenhower formula will be to listen patiently, to ask that past agreements entered into by the Soviet Union be honored, to make no gestures that could involve U.S. approval of Communist conquests of postwar years.

U.S. bases abroad will not be abandoned. U.S. troops will not, in the foreseeable future, be withdrawn from Europe. Communist China will not get U.S. recognition or approval for United Nations membership. Formosa will not be turned over to the Communists. Atomic weapons will not be given up.

In other words, not much is going to emerge from Big Four talks.

This country is not to pay a high price in the hope that Communists then will be good. It will ask that Communists give something in return for past favors and past payments, according to terms of contracts entered into.

These basic conclusions govern Eisenhower's approach to problems:

The United States, incomparably, is the world's most powerful nation.

War involving U.S. will not be chanced, because of American power.

Depression of a disastrous kind can and will be avoided by U.S. A big and growing America will assure against collapse in the non-Communist world.

Communism, however, cannot succeed as a system--flying as it does in the face of human nature and the aspirations of normal people.

Over the long pull, it is the type of slavery offered by Communism that

 (No part of this or any other page may be reproduced without written permission)

will break from strain, not the system that permits individuals to work out their own problems and that gives them freedom to express themselves.

Patience and calm lie back of Ike's formula for dealing with Russia.

Most significant is the growing view that there cannot be another 1929. All the world, for a generation, has been sitting on the edge of its chair just waiting for U.S. to blow up with an economic bang as it did after 1929.

Now it's dawning that there will not be a repeat performance. Even the most sour of pessimists is coming around to that conclusion. Reasons for that conclusion are many and their recognition of much importance.

Money, for one thing, and money policy, are under public, not private, control. Political pressures are always on the side of abundant and low-cost money. Scarce, high-cost money, in other words, is unlikely to return.

Unemployment, too, is recognized as a public responsibility. A big total of jobless for any length of time will bring strong Government action. Farm price collapse, likewise, will not again be permitted to occur.

Bank panics cannot again occur. Mortgage foreclosures on the vast scale that came after 1929 are no longer a practical possibility. Budget balance no longer is viewed by politicians as the prime requirement in hard times.

In a word, there now is a built-in bias toward prompt Government action to counter any severe deflation; a long-range bias toward inflation of credit and wages and even of many prices. Deflation is political poison and, since 1933, politicians rather than bankers or businessmen have taken control.

That is not to say that everything always will go up. It's just that when the trends are down they will not run to the point of collapse.

In 1955, trends will continue upward except for a summer slowing.

In 1956, the year as a whole is likely to be a little better than 1955. But: Chances are that trends will be down in the second half.

In 1957, it is quite probable that times will be harder. Building boom, by that time, may have its edge off. Industry may slow its expansion somewhat to catch its breath. People are likely to be working off installment debt.

The point is, however, that harder times when they come are more likely to resemble 1949 or 1954 than they are to mirror 1921 or 1937, let alone the disastrous period that followed 1929. Antideflation policies will come into play rather quickly, some of them automatically, when times get hard.

As Congress heads down the home stretch of a quiet session:

Draft will be extended for four years. Draft term will remain at two years. Actual drafting, however, will be on a limited scale from now on.

Aid for education is stymied for the time being. Health reinsurance appears to be blocked again. Minimum wage, if raised, is likely to go to $1 an hour from present 75 cents. Farm price supports will not be altered.

Tax cuts come next year, not this. Lowered retirement age for women workers, for wives of retired workers may come next year, not this. Doctors, lawyers, other self-employed persons stand a good chance, next year, of being allowed to build a retirement fund from tax-free income.

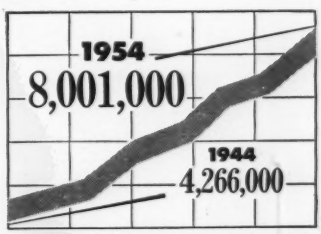
Insurance against total disability is a 50-50 prospect next year.

Congress has coasted in 1955. It may offer more to voters in 1956.

 (No part of this or any other page may be reproduced without written permission)

Coming . . . the key to the city!

Independent telephone service says "you're welcome" in 11,000 communities!



GROWTH IN NUMBER OF TELEPHONES
in Independent Telephone Companies

Along with the shift of American industry—out where there's room to grow—population is moving too! As families settle in new homes . . . in new surroundings . . . the telephone is a familiar tie to old friends and new neighbors.

A key that opens many doors. Supplying this key—to the cities, towns and villages that cover two-thirds of our nation—are 5,000 Independent Telephone Companies. Helping communities grow . . . and growing with them . . . by making progress always welcome!

USITA

Telephone by Automatic Electric Company

UNITED STATES INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION

Pennsylvania Building · Washington, D. C.

Washington Whispers

[Items appearing on this page are reported in Washington and other news centers]

Tito's Secret Deal—Censored by U.S. . . . Nehru to Get Dollars by Acting Up? . . . It Could Be Adlai-Lyndon

President Eisenhower left New Englanders with a very definite feeling that he likes his job and will be running for office again in 1956. Senator Ralph Flanders (Rep.), of Vermont, confided: "As sure as I'm standing here, Ike is going to run. He's got world responsibilities that he cannot duck."

★ ★ ★

The President remarked to a Vermont State Senator when in that State: "I want to make money from my farm because I want to live there someday." The State Senator expressed the hope that Ike would not settle on the farm for several years. The President wouldn't say, but just grinned.

★ ★ ★

Adlai Stevenson, in line for the 1956 Democratic nomination, is somewhat concerned by the lack of enthusiasm that a good many party politicians continue to display when talking about the 1956 campaign. Mr. Stevenson is not getting much help in his effort to start developing issues now.

★ ★ ★

Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Majority Leader of the Senate, can have second place on the 1956 Democratic ticket if he will take it. Senator Johnson's name would be expected to help in the South and among "conservative" voters.

★ ★ ★

Maj. Gen. Howard Snyder, the President's physician, observed, when Mr. Eisenhower was presented with his latest cow: "I wish they would give him a cow that gave skimmed milk. Maybe it would help to keep his weight down." Actually, Ike doesn't look overweight but the idea is to make sure that he does not gain.

★ ★ ★

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, on occasion shares with Ike the misery of bursitis. Neither the Secretary of State nor the President, however, has a serious case.

★ ★ ★

James C. Hagerty, the White House Press Secretary, at times discovers that things go on about which he doesn't know. Asked on one day about reports that Army Secretary Robert Stevens was resigning, Hagerty commented: "I know of no resignation. There is none before the President." On the next day, Hagerty announced the resignation.

★ ★ ★

Republicans who have been complaining about patronage policies of the present Administration can look for little if any change under the new White House patronage boss, Edward Tait. Mr. Tait is under instruction that the principles which applied under Charles Willis, Jr., are to continue in force.

★ ★ ★

Democratic leaders in Congress have served notice on the White House that it cannot count upon Democratic support for any further cuts in military budgets. Democrats are becoming convinced that the White House planners want to cut military spending enough to justify a sizable reduction in taxes in election year 1956.

★ ★ ★

James Riddleberger, U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, took 106 pages of typewritten testimony to tell a Senate committee what kind of deal Marshal Tito cooked up with Russia's Nikita Khrushchev. The Department of State then edited this testimony down to four pages devoted largely to the Ambassador's name, address and account of unimportant incidents.

★ ★ ★

Khrushchev, though inebriated during some of his time in Belgrade, did get some kind of agreement of co-operation from Tito related to the Soviet Union's plan for a security system in Eastern Europe. American diplomats are somewhat uneasy about the reliability of a group of Communist leaders around Marshal Tito.

★ ★ ★

India's Jawaharlal Nehru now has gone all out in his acceptance of the Soviet line of foreign policy, raising questions about the future of the gifts from U. S. taxpayers now being prepared for him. One inside view is that Nehru expects that the United States will be forced to give more concessions now that he has expressed his enthusiasm for the Soviet Union.

★ ★ ★

Neither President Eisenhower nor Secretary Dulles looks for anything really tangible to come out of the meetings to be held with the Soviet Union's Nikolai Bulganin starting July 18. The most U. S. officials hope to do is to keep the Communists from getting another propaganda victory.

★ ★ ★

Any American turncoats who may have renounced American citizenship while in Communist China might be forced to go back to the Communists. The British in Hong Kong are unwilling to take any paperless Americans demanding asylum in that crown colony. U. S. officials are under orders not to do more than help turncoats get passage home.

★ ★ ★

Juan Perón, Argentina's dictator, was forced to make concessions to high Army officers as a condition for keeping his job. Perón no longer is free to act without consulting the Army, which is inclined to be moderately conservative on labor and religious issues.

Now you can get B.F.Goodrich Truck Tires

as low as

$19.95

Plus tax and your recappable tire

6.00-16

OTHER SIZES THROUGH 10.00-22
PROPORTIONATELY LOW PRICED

Low initial cost plus high-quality construction make the B. F. Goodrich Express a real money saver.

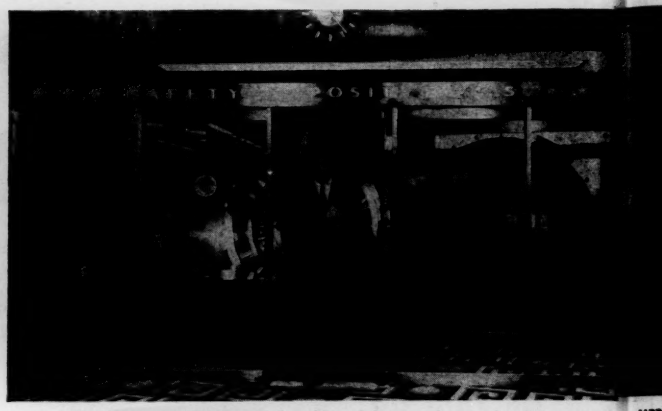
The B. F. Goodrich Express cuts costs for delivery truck operators, large and small fleet owners. Ideal for trailers. It has the same tread design that formerly came on new trucks. The tread is as thick as that of tires built for far heavier service. See your B. F. Goodrich retailer today. The address is listed under Tires in the Yellow Pages of your phone book. Or write *The B. F. Goodrich Company, Tire & Equipment Division, Akron 18, Ohio.*

Specify **B. F. Goodrich tires when ordering new trucks and trailers**

Why buy an unknown, off-brand truck tire when you can buy a new, fully guaranteed B. F. Goodrich Express at the same or lower price?

RESEARCH KEEPS
B.F.Goodrich
FIRST IN RUBBER

BRIGHT STAINLESS STEEL AND GLASS help to keep the feeling of open space without actually wasting any. Stainless Steel revolving door can take banging of customers' feet. Perspiration from thousands of hands cannot affect it. Note the stainless steel sheathed supporting column beyond the door.



FEELING OF SPACIOUSNESS is achieved by good use of stainless steel and glass at the vault entrance. High strength-to-weight ratio of Enduro Stainless Steel permits its use in thinner sections, eliminating unnecessary bulk which would mar decorative effects, and cut down on glass areas.

THIS CIRCULAR STAIRWAY leads from the banking floor to the vault room in the first basement floor. Stainless Steel handrails curve on changing radii to accent graceful curve of stair. Guard rail at top consists of stainless frames with glass screens to preserve appearance of openness and space.

You can draw i

...in beauty that's modern

...beauty that's easy to maintain

...in ways to use

ENDURO STAINLESS STEEL

STAINLESS STEEL BECOMES A DECORATIVE TOOL in the reception room, Home Federal Savings and Loan Association. Doors and trim are stainless. The texture effect on the door panels is the result of turning the direction of the polish lines on the middle panels 90 degrees to those on top and bottom panels.

REPUBLIC STEEL CORPORATION
3142 East 45th Street,
Cleveland 27, Ohio

REPUBLIC STEEL

Please send me more information on:

- ☐ Berger Roof Drainage Products
- ☐ ELECTRUNITE® E.M.T.
- ☐ Enduro® Stainless Steel
- ☐ Truscon Steel Windows

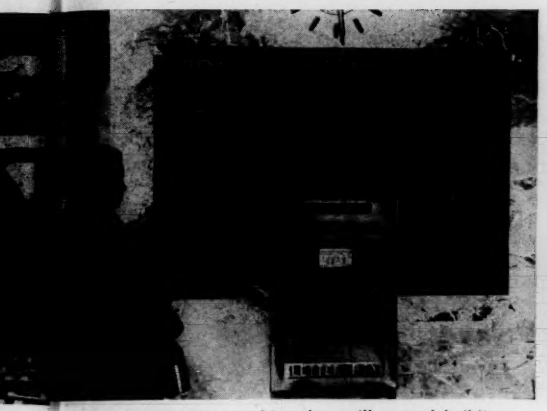
Name_____ Title_____

Company_____

Address_____

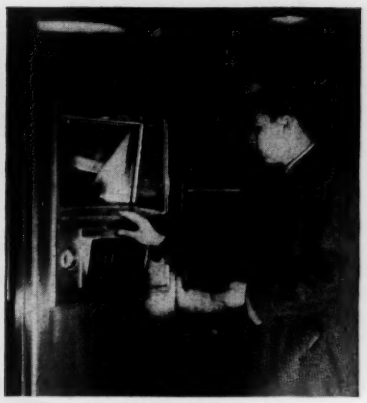
City_____ Zone____ State_____

K-8080-B



HERE'S A NEW IDEA: combine the mailbox and building directory. Then make both of them out of Republic Enduro Stainless Steel and you have improved design in a limited lobby space. Easy to maintain, too.

AFTER BANKING HOURS, this "snorkel" permits the teller, safely seated in the basement vault room, to receive payments or deposits from customers outside of the bank. Stainless Steel is used for the work surface, as well as all other metal parts.



"HOLD-UP PROOF" is this after-hours banking "snorkel". This is the view from the customer side. There is an elevating device, periscope and telephone connection. All bright metal is stainless steel.

w ideas from this bank

Architect William Sevic of Chicago did just that for Home Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago. He used it in everything from the vaults and radiator covers to the stair rails. He knew that Enduro Stainless Steel would last. That it fitted in with good functional design. And eliminated the need for constant polishing.

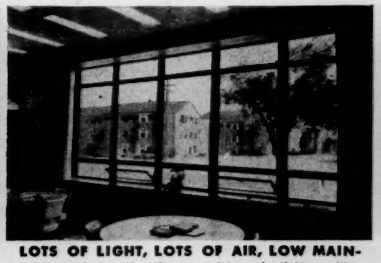
Although it has been with us for more than 25 years, architects are still discovering more and more uses for Republic Enduro Stainless Steel. Like hardware. Downspouts and gutters. Decorative ornaments.

When you're building or remodeling a bank, store, hospital, hotel — any type of building — ask your architect to tell you about the long-lasting beauty and many functional advantages of Enduro Stainless Steel. In the meantime, mail the coupon below for further information.

REPUBLIC STEEL

World's Widest Range of Standard Steels and Steel Products

ELECTRICAL WIRING IS SAFE AND ECONOMICAL when it's in Republic "Inch-Marked®" Electrical Metallic Tubing. You get the mechanical and electrical protection inherent in a steel conduit system. Wiring circuits are protected against fire, moisture and mechanical injury. Corrosion resistance is unbroken from end to end, since there are no threads to cut.



LOTS OF LIGHT, LOTS OF AIR, LOW MAINTENANCE can be designed into buildings like this public library when you specify Truscon Steel windows. Made by Republic's Truscon Steel Division, these windows operate easily. Ventilators allow a precisely controlled flow of fresh air. Window shown is the Truscon Intermediate Projected steel window with sill vent.

TROUBLE-FREE ROOF DRAINAGE CAN BE YOURS with gutters and downspouts of Republic Enduro Stainless Steel. Fabricated by Republic's Berger Division and numerous independent manufacturers, these products will last the lifetime of the building, under normal conditions. No rusting, no tarnishing. No bleeding or discoloring paint. They are stronger than ordinary steel, withstand wide temperature changes.

PEOPLE ★ ★ ★

OF THE WEEK

› NEW ARMY SECRETARY will be a former Governor of Michigan, the first of several new faces in the top civilian command at the Pentagon. **Wilber Marion Brucker,** General Counsel of the Defense Department, got the promotion on the eve of his 61st birthday, will succeed retiring Secretary Robert T. Stevens about the end of July. The turnover in the Defense Department also will include the departure of Deputy Secretary Robert B. Anderson, who is to return to private life in Texas.

Mr. Brucker was a second lieutenant in World War I, won a Silver Star in France. His father had been a Democratic Representative in Congress, but the son entered politics as a Republican, became the Governor of Michigan in 1931 for a two-year term. He lost his bid for re-election in the Democratic landslide of 1932, returned to his law practice.

When he joined the Administration in April, 1954, Mr. Brucker took charge of the Defense Department's security program. He feels that the security laws affecting military personnel are adequate; that the problem is a matter of proper administration. He hopes to find a way to keep in the Army efficient but dissatisfied personnel who are dropping out. The affable Mr. Brucker works a six-day week, does not smoke or drink. He used to play golf, gave it up, now gets exercise by taking long walks.

—United Press

MR. STEVENS WILL BE SUCCEEDED BY MR. BRUCKER
. . . there may be more changes at the Pentagon

› MRS. OVETA CULP HOBBY is being challenged on two counts as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. There is criticism of her action in pinning responsibility for the muddled program of vaccination against polio on the Public Health Service, headed by Surgeon General Leonard A. Scheele. In Congress, Democrats are driving for quick action to widen the benefits of the Social Security law over Mrs. Hobby's protests that the proposed changes would drain away old-age and survivors' pension funds. If Mrs. Hobby has, as widely reported, decided to quit Washington when she can do so gracefully, these irritations could have been big factors.

The Secretary, now 50, came into the Administration as Federal Security Administrator; joined the Cabinet after setting up the new Department which she now heads. Mrs. Hobby has been voted one of the best-dressed women in the U. S. She was the wartime director of the Women's Army Corps, held the rank of colonel. Before that, the Secretary was executive vice president of the Houston *Post*, published by her husband, William P. Hobby, a former Governor of Texas. Mr. Hobby's failing health is one reason why she wishes to get out of public life, return to Texas.

—United Press

SURGEON GENERAL SCHEELE AND MRS. HOBBY
For the Secretary: trouble on two fronts

› STUART SYMINGTON is becoming known as the most outspoken challenger of President Eisenhower's reputation as a military planner. The Democratic Senator from Missouri has strong support within his party for his beliefs, could be building up national defense as a vital political issue in the 1956 elections.

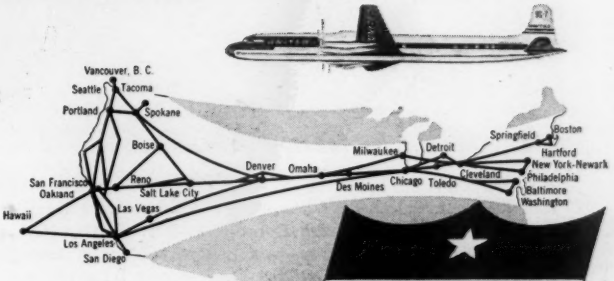
A teen-age second lieutenant in the Army during World War I, Mr. Symington vaulted high into the Pentagon when President Truman named him as the first Secretary of the Air Force, has rarely been out of controversy since.

(Continued on page 18)

Do you pay salesmen for work not done?

Are you paying out thousands of dollars for hours not worked while your people travel the slow, on-the-ground way? Take advantage of speeds up to six miles a minute on United Air Lines' Mainliner fleet—to cut time waste, gain more man-hours of work with no additional men.

And your company can combine Mainliner® speed with the convenience of automobile travel. Through United Air Lines' "fly-drive" service, rental cars are reserved at destinations.



Make every day count—with Mainliner travel

For reservations, call or write United or an Authorized Travel Agent

UNITED
AIR LINES

Elected to the Senate in 1952, he was described as "the most widely known freshman on Capitol Hill."

From the Senate floor and in speeches across the country, the 54-year-old Senator spreads his constant theme: The U.S. must keep its Air Force strong; it must have better planes and weapons than the Russians in order to minimize the dangers of a sudden, sneak attack. His latest estimate: The Reds have "thousands more" jet fighters and light jet bombers than the U.S. and "probably" lead this country in long-range jet bombers and guided missiles. Senator Symington feels that the President is wrong in proposing to reduce the strength of the armed services now.

➤ **SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY** is outwardly undismayed by the rejection of his move to force some concessions from Soviet leaders in advance of the coming four-power conference in Geneva. The Wisconsin Republican feels that the Senate, in burying his proposal to get Moscow's promise to discuss her satellite states, made a "great mistake." He plans to go right along talking about his favorite project of the moment.

Abandonment of Senator McCarthy by all but three of his colleagues in the 77-to-4 vote raises the question of his plans for the 1956 political campaigns.

His term runs through 1958, but his fellow Republican from Wisconsin, Senator Alexander Wiley, is up for renomination and re-election next year. Senator Wiley has consistently supported President Eisenhower's foreign policies, was opposed from the start to the McCarthy resolution on the Big Four Conference.

Mr. McCarthy's friends say his estrangement from the Administration now seems final and complete. When '56 politicking begins in earnest—in Wisconsin and elsewhere—he could stand silent on the side lines, which is unlikely; or he could support candidates of his choosing—even crossing party lines in an effort to build up a following loyal to his set of standards.

AN ELEPHANT GUN—FOR HUNTING TEXAS REPUBLICANS

—United Press

➤ **PAUL BUTLER** has been touring the vast spaces of Texas, seeking to patch up a split in the Democratic Party of the State, which went Republican for Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952. The Democratic National Chairman received a warm greeting and an elephant gun from **John Nance Garner,** left, 86-year-old former Vice President, but some party leaders were less cordial.

Mr. Butler, 50 and mild-mannered, looks like the corporation lawyer he is rather than a political chieftain. It is his job to salve the sores left by the '52 campaign, get Texas back for the Democrats' 1956 candidate—still expected to be Adlai Stevenson.

➤ **A PEACE SEEKER** who feels that another big war would fall heaviest on Asia has come to the U.S. with hopes of soothing the tensions between East and West. The cheerful visitor is **U Nu,** anti-Communist Prime Minister of Burma, who will spend 19 days touring the country from coast to coast as a guest of the Government.

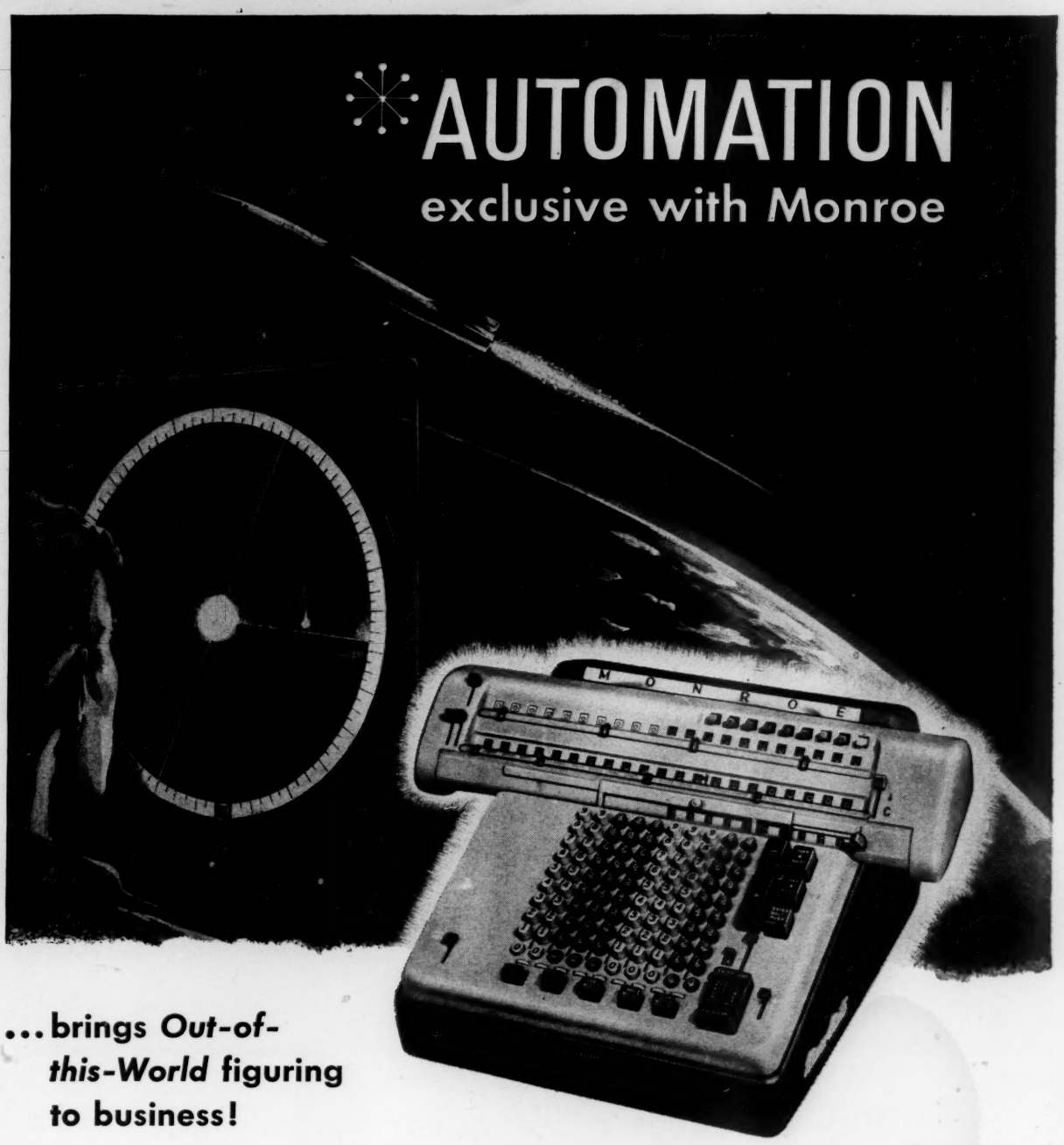
Prime Minister Nu, whose Texas-size nation shares 1,000 miles of frontier with Communist China, fought as a guerrilla against the Japanese occupation of Burma in World War II, later helped form the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, which controls about 80 per cent of the seats in Burma's Parliament. He became Prime Minister when some of the nation's top leaders were assassinated in an anti-Government plot in 1947; defeated Communist efforts to take control; negotiated the terms of Burma's independence pact with Britain in 1948.

U Nu is eager to speed the economic development of Southeast Asia but feels that is a job for the countries of that area; has refused U.S. offers of foreign aid. During a recent visit to Red China he boldly told an audience of Communist officials that the American people are "brave and generous." He also urged Premier Chou En-lai to free captive American airmen.

➤ **AN ATOMIC DETECTIVE** foresees the release of a source of atomic power from ordinary granite rock. The big problem, says **Dr. Willard F. Libby,** 46-year-old member of the Atomic Energy Commission, is to find a practical way of extracting the elements thorium and uranium from the granite. If that can be worked out, he estimates that the rock will have a theoretical atomic-fuel value of 50 times its weight in coal.

Finding the answers to this and similar problems is a challenge willingly accepted by Dr. Libby, a onetime California ranch hand who turned educator, wound up helping to make atomic bombs during World War II. He was one of the first firm backers of the proposal to develop the H-bomb.

Tall, soft-spoken, with a penchant for detective stories, Dr. Libby has done some snooping into ancient history with a device of his own invention. This instrument—called an "atomic time clock"—measures the amount of radioactive carbon found in once-living things. Because the carbon disappears at a constant rate, it is possible—using Dr. Libby's "clock"—to determine the age of such things as the wood from an Egyptian mummy's coffin.



...brings *Out-of-this-World* figuring to business!

Here's the new calculator that's "years ahead of its time" and here, in one word, is the reason why: *Automation—the modern miracle of automatic operation that reduces figuring work to feeding figures... pushing buttons!

The Monro-Matic 8N gives a measure of automatic figuring that ordinary calculators cannot even approach. It flies through the toughest jobs with incredible ease and speed, and because it by-passes many needless steps, answers are fast and direct.

Ask your Man from Monroe to show you, on your own work. His office is listed in your classified telephone directory. Monroe Calculating Machine Company, Inc., Orange, New Jersey. Branches everywhere.

OPERATORS WHO KNOW... PREFER **MONROE** *CALCULATING, ADDING, ACCOUNTING MACHINES*

Henry P. Becton, Executive Vice-President of Becton, Dickinson and Company, explains

"Why a doctor must never be rushed!"

"A famous surgeon used to say to his young student doctors, 'A man with a severed carotid artery will bleed to death in three minutes. You can sew it up in two-and-a-half minutes — *if you're not in a hurry.*'

"Everyone who serves the medical profession must know how to be quick and sure. That's why Air Express is important to us at B-D. Our customers *must* be sure they can depend on us.

"A vaccination program, or a flood, fire or explosion can mean immediate need for hypodermic syringes and needles, elastic bandages, blood donor equipment. Air Express is the sure way to get it there.

"Air Express can save you money, too. A 20-lb. shipment from Rutherford, N. J., to Des Moines, Ia., for instance, is $8.12. That's the lowest-priced complete service by $1.48!"

Air Express

GETS THERE FIRST *via U.S. Scheduled Airlines*

CALL AIR EXPRESS . . . *division of* **RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY**

SUMMER SLUMP: HOW MUCH?

Sharp in Autos and Related Fields—Less Than Usual in Others

You will see business slipping a bit in weeks just ahead.

Reason: The usual summer slump, nothing to get too alarmed about.

Auto industry will be hit hardest. Dips will show, too, in steel, copper, textiles, rubber, a number of other fields.

In some lines, you can look for a summer pickup. Food processors will show gains. So will cement firms, furniture producers, aluminum companies.

All told, output of industry will drop 3 per cent or so. Even that will not last long. In the autumn, business will hum again.

The bloom right now is starting to come off the country's boom. It is off, probably, only for the summer months and will begin to return when the cooler days of autumn appear.

The slowing of activity in the auto industry is going to be sharp. It will be substantial in steel and in a wide range of other industries. Trade volume in many regions is to ease off.

What is about to happen, actually, is that the country is to go through a normal summer slump.

This is the season when vacations start in a big way. Vacations with pay now are standard practice throughout the industrial and business worlds. With vacations, activity slows in many industries. Some firms shut down altogether for a while. People leave their homes and take to the road. This has a slowing effect on trade, except in resort areas.

Yet, at the same time, travel tends to rise. Railroads improve their passenger business. Airlines and shipping lines enjoy their peak volume. Highways are filled with cars. Service stations and oil companies find that sales soar. Resorts get their big business. For some parts of the country, summertime is boom time. In general, however, it is a time when things ease off.

This year the easing in some fields will be greater than usual. One reason is that there has been some building of stocks in anticipation of strikes. Strikes did not develop, so demand slackened. Another reason is that output in some fields soared far above normal early in the year.

The automobile industry reflects both situations. There were strike rumors right up to the time that wage settlements were made. Output of passenger cars through June will exceed 4 million cars. Dealers have a record number of cars on hand, and the peak selling season is passed. That points clearly to sharp cuts in production, most of which will occur in the summer. Later in the year, 1956 models will be introduced.

AUTO ASSEMBLY LINE
. . . summer is traditionally slow

Signs are that auto production will be cut in the July-September period by about 47 per cent from the April-June record. The upturn later in the year is not expected to reach the April-June peak.

The drop in auto output will affect steel and other industries that supply the automobile firms. Steel production, however, will be supported by demand from the railroads and the machinery and construction industries. Prospects are that steel output, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board, will dip about 11 per cent in the months just ahead.

A letdown from present high rates of production lies ahead for many other industries, too. Copper refining is expected to fall a little more than 7 per cent. Textile production is likely to decline almost as much, chiefly because the auto industry will require a smaller volume of synthetic textiles for seat

coverings and other uses. The rubber industry, too, will cut production because of smaller demand for tires and tubes. Other industries, such as paper, lumber and chemicals, always trim production a bit in the summer.

The decline, however, is not expected to last very long. There is no sign that demand for industry's products is to diminish for any length of time. People are finding more jobs and getting pay raises in wholesale lots. That means more spending by individuals. Business, too, is boosting its spending plans. The 500-million-dollar program of expansion announced by General Motors Corporation is typical of a trend.

By the year's end, business outlays for plant and equipment are expected to be at the highest point of 1955. Consumers also are likely to be spending record amounts, both for hard goods, such as furniture and appliances, and for soft goods, such as shoes and clothing.

The ups and the downs. Some industries will breeze through the summer without cuts. Food processors and manufacturers of beverages probably will boost operations by 13 per cent in this period. Summer is the peak season for this group. Cement companies, stimulated by the building boom, also will increase output. The furniture industry is starting a gradual rise that is expected to carry through to the end of the year. Aluminum producers, operating close to capacity, will push production a bit higher, and metal mining is likely to have a bit better than a seasonal increase this summer.

Cotton mills are expected to increase their activity this summer, and clothing factories, producing for the autumn market, are expected to keep on at present rates. Production of shoes, too, will increase moderately in the summer months, as usual. Cigarette manufacturers are another group that will maintain current schedules.

No downturn is in sight for a good many metal-working plants. Manufacturers of tin cans, structural-steel parts, and similar products are expected to hold present production levels through the summer.

Machinery production, on the whole, is to keep on even keel through the summer and to step up activity in the autumn months. Machine-tool orders in May jumped to the highest point since August, 1953. That resulted from industry's expansion programs and promises to keep machine-tool builders busy for several months to come. Manufacturers of industrial machinery, office equipment and other kinds of machines used in business have relatively full schedules for the months ahead.

A slight decline is in the offing for electrical machinery, but no more than usual for the summer. This group includes everything from generators to pocket radios. An upturn in the autumn seems assured for this group.

The construction industry will stay as active as it is now for the remainder of the year. An official Government survey concludes that this year will see another all-time high in the building boom that has continued for several years. This guarantees a large demand in the months ahead for building materials, including lumber, cement, brick, plaster and glass.

Home construction is expected to dip a bit. The survey estimates that 1.3 million dwelling units will be started this year, whereas, in the early months of 1955, housing starts were being made at a rate of 1.4 million units a year.

Other types of construction are headed for new highs. Commercial building—stores, garages, office buildings, shopping centers—is running 30 per cent ahead of last year in dollar cost. Sharp gains are being recorded in the building of churches, schools, roads and pipelines. Building of industrial plants also is on the increase after a three-year downtrend. The upturn is being sparked by the steel, chemical and food industries.

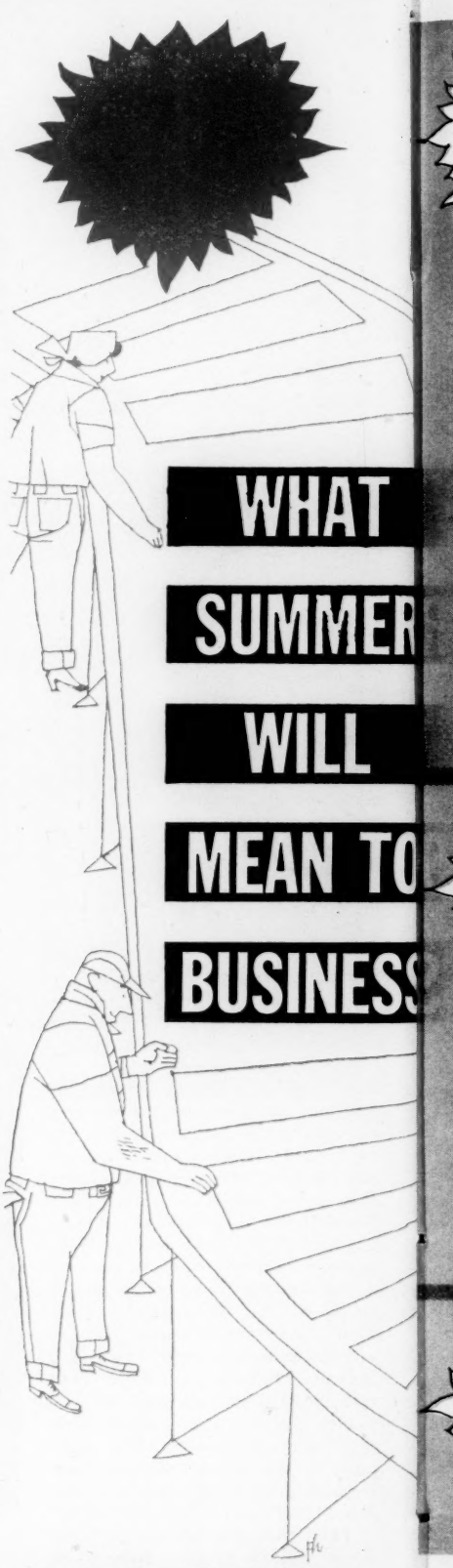
Balance sheet. Altogether, industry's decline this summer is not expected to average more than 3 per cent. When that dip is adjusted for usual seasonal downturn, the decline is not likely to amount to more than 1 per cent. In other words, the drop that is ahead for auto production is to be offset in large measure by upturns and steady production in other industries.

In addition, operators of hotels, resorts, restaurants and roadside stands are counting on a record volume of business this summer. Travel agencies report a sharp increase in bookings this year for vacation spots in the United States, Canada, Mexico and the West Indies as well as for Europe.

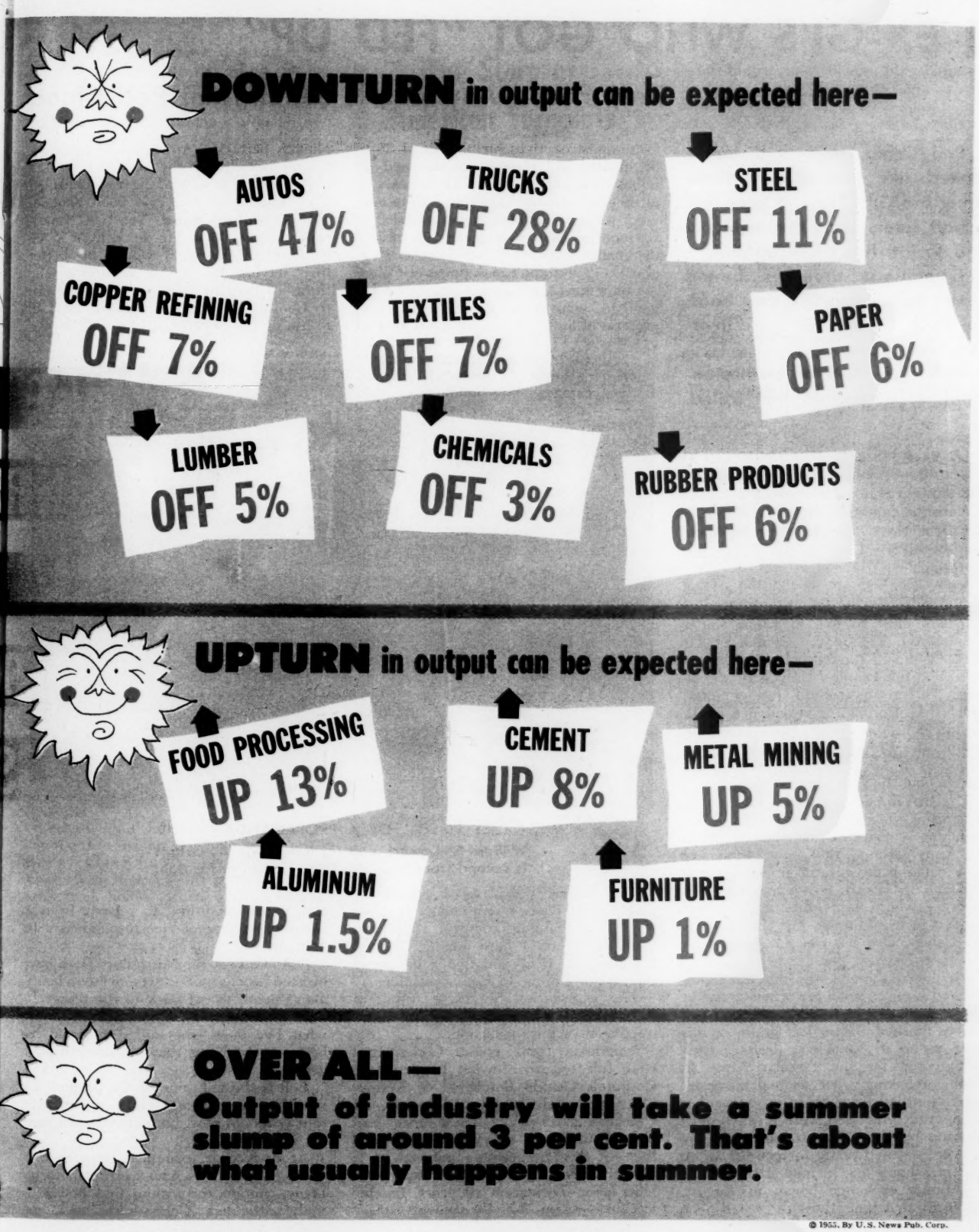
Retailers, eying the rising trend in people's incomes, also are planning this year to try to soften the usual summer slump that occurs in sales. They are increasing their efforts to promote sales of summer clothing, electric fans, room air-conditioners, camping supplies, garden furniture, sporting and photographic equipment, and luggage.

The general expectation is that, while the boom will slow its pace this summer as the hot season advances, nothing resembling a serious setback will occur. And the uptrend is counted as being certain to resume when the vacation season comes to an end.

For a report on how industry's expansion is expected to keep the boom rolling after the summer slowdown, see page 93.



Source: estimates by Economic Unit, USN&WR



© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

3 EX-GI'S WHO GOT "FED UP"

They Found Anything Is Better Than Red China

Red China, from a distance, looked like paradise to three American GI's. Now, a year and a half later, even the inside of a U. S. jail has more appeal.

Communist promises turned out to be phony. Life was hard, not easy. Home was more inviting every day.

This is a story of disillusionment, of a gamble that failed.

HONG KONG

Of 21 Americans who chose life in Communist China over returning to the United States, three decided after 17 months that they had had enough. Of these three, two now prefer their home country. One prefers to try life in Japan.

At present, 17 of the Americans—all former soldiers who served in the Korean war—still elect to live in China under Communism. One of the original 21 has died. Of the 17 staying behind, most are attending the People's University at Peiping. This group includes former Sergt. Richard G. Corden, of Providence, R. I., regarded as the most intelligent man among the turncoats, described by the Army as a key figure in keeping his companions tied to Communism.

Disillusioned youths. The three Americans who got fed up with life in China were privates first class when in the Army. Otho G. Bell, now 24 years of age, came from a farm in Mississippi. William A. Cowart, now 22, grew up in Georgia where his father and mother worked in textile mills. The third, Lewis W. Griggs, also 22, was an electrician's son from Neches, Tex.

Here were three youths from the South. All had farm or small-town backgrounds. None had finished high school, one barely finished the eighth grade on his third try at it. None was drafted; each volunteered for the Regular Army in 1949, preferring what seemed an easier life to battling for a living in some other occupation. All three were given typical training by the Army, indoctrinated by it, were deemed ready for combat when war in Korea came in June, 1950.

Prisoner exchange began in August, 1953. By that time, these three had been Communist captives for periods of 28 to 37 months. All three were shunned by fellow prisoners who accused them of tattling or preaching Communism to gain favor with their captors. Over a period of six months, each was repeatedly offered the chance of going home to the U. S. or of sticking with the Communists of China.

Communist blandishments sounded good to them at the time. There was a promise of an education, of good jobs, of pretty girls. There was a chance to grow up with a changing country. There was a chance to be a hero among Oriental Communists. It all sounded a lot better than coming home to face accusations.

The expectation—for these three, at least—turned out to be a lot more attractive than the realization.

Americans who chose Communism were fully aware of what happened to Corporals Claude Batchelor, of Kermit, Tex., and Edward S. Dickenson, of Cracker's Neck, Va. These men had elected to serve the Communists and then, at the last minute, broke away.

Both now are serving sentences at hard labor—Dickenson 10 years, Batchelor 20 years—at Fort Leavenworth disciplinary barracks. Appeals are pending. Communists spread the story of their fate to Americans in China, even embellished it by saying the men had been hanged.

U. S. looked good. Yet two Americans decided that life in jail, or even hanging, in the U. S. would be better than staying any longer in China. The third, a Georgian, preferred not to return to Georgia but looked forward instead, to life in Tokyo cafés, sitting with a beer and a girl—according to reports from a Communist news correspondent in Peiping.

Otho G. Bell, the Mississippi farm boy, insisted he was willing even to face a hangman's noose to get back to the States.

"I'm not afraid to face the price for what I've done," he said. "It would be better to be hung than to have to stay here."

Bell is the only one of the original 21 who had a wife and child—a daughter four years old now, born after he shipped for Korea.

Army records, compiled from reports given by prisoners who were glad to go home, contain accusations that Bell willingly attended Communist meetings,

—Eastfoto

WHEN THEY POSED FOR A PROPAGANDA PHOTO . . .
William A. Cowart is at far left, Lewis W. Griggs is second from the right; Otho G. Bell at far right

tried to lure other men into the Communist camp.

Record of discontent. Bell had never been enthusiastic for the Army, or for much of anything else. He didn't like school. He made three stabs at the eighth grade, finally got a diploma after changing to another school. His father's family jammed the farmhouse—five children by a wife who died giving birth to Otho, six more by a second wife—and Otho didn't like home life much more than he liked school.

Bell first entered the Army while under age, without his father's signed permission. He disliked the Army, got his father to retrieve him. Yet, six days after his eighteenth birthday, he enlisted again for a three-year hitch.

Landing in Korea just as the United Nations forces were gathering strength and beginning to push the invaders back from the beleaguered Pusan perimeter, Bell fought with the Second Division all the way up to the approaches to the Yalu River.

Then hordes of Chinese "volunteers" poured into the fight. Five days later, on Nov. 30, 1950, the Second and two other U. S. divisions in northwestern Korea were driven across the icy Chongchon River. On that day, the Chinese rounded up hundreds of prisoners. Bell was one of them.

A jig for Reds? William A. Cowart already had been a captive for nearly five months when Bell was taken. Cowart was one of the first Americans to be captured, taken when the Korean conflict was less than three weeks old. He was also one of the first to aid the Communists, according to reports in the Army records. In the end, he was noted for dancing a jig just before Soviet trucks finally bore the turncoat prisoners off to the North, on their way to China.

Cowart found life too hard among the Communists. About the time he decided to leave China, he said—according to the report from Peiping—he got $500 in a letter from home and blew it all in five days in Peiping cafés.

"This is what I like," the reporter quoted him. "Find a place like this, sit drinking some beer, find a girl, go dancing."

Why didn't he want to stick with Communism? "They take life pretty seriously here. I can't make the grade."

Cowart felt he couldn't make the grade in the U. S. either. He preferred, the correspondent wrote, to go to Japan, where "you can have a good time."

Cowart had come out of a textile town—Dalton, Ga.—where both his parents had worked for local bedspread mills. In school he was rated as a boy of average intelligence, but he belligerently disliked school. He stood low in his classes, failed several subjects, then quit.

This Georgia boy wiggled into the Army three days before his sixteenth birthday, was 17½ years old when captured on July 12, 1950.

On the day he was captured, Americans still were being pushed back toward the Pusan perimeter. The 24th Division—Cowart's outfit—was forced to retreat across the Kum River while four battalions of U. S. troops stood off three Communist divisions on the far bank. The Communists claimed 200 prisoners that day. Cowart was one of them.

In prison camp, his fellow captives said, he soon sought the path of ease—informed on other prisoners, volunteered to write propaganda, urged other prisoners toward Communism.

The call of Texas. Lewis W. Griggs wanted to head straight back to Texas as soon as he could get across the Communist border.

Griggs had wanted to get away when he left Texas. Although he, like Cowart, was rated of average intellect, he barely squeaked through in the two years he spent in high school. His father paid his way into a nearby military school, but Griggs stayed there only a few weeks.

On the second day after he was 17, Griggs volunteered for three years in the Army, was a litter-bearer in Korea. He was in campaigns from Pusan to the Yalu and back again to the 38th parallel. In April, 1951, half a million Chinese troops rolled ahead in a big spring offensive.

Eventually, that offensive would be smashed and the Communists would ask for truce talks. But on April 25—the fourth day of battle—the center of United Nations lines was cracked. Griggs was captured.

In prison camp, the Army record says, he tattled on hut mates, sought favor by volunteering for Communist propaganda chores.

A hard "paradise." What made these three change their minds?

The "workers' paradise," Chinese version, turned out to be a hard place to live. The aura of adulation that surrounded the turncoat Americans, while they were paraded through North Korea and Communist China, soon vanished. Having served their propaganda purposes, they become cogs in the Communist machine.

Eating Chinese food once had been an occasional lark on prewar leave. Now, a steady diet of it became distasteful. Chinese voices, Chinese faces, a strange language to contend with sapped enthusiasm. Freedom to do what they wanted didn't exist. They learned the hard way that life in the U. S.—even in prison—is preferable to Chinese Communism.

The Story of American Turncoats

June 25, 1950—
Start of Korean war

July 12, 1950—
Pfc. William A. Cowart captured by Communists

Nov. 30, 1950—
Pfc. Otho G. Bell captured by Communists

April 25, 1951—
Pfc. Lewis W. Griggs captured by Communists

July 27, 1953—
Cease-fire agreement signed

Aug. 5-Sept. 6, 1953—
Prisoners exchanged; 23 Americans, including Cowart, Bell and Griggs, chose to stay with Communists

Sept. 26-Dec. 23, 1953—
90-day "explanations" to those who changed sides. Two Americans came back to U.S.

Jan. 25, 1954—
Dishonorable discharge of 21 who stayed ordered by Defense Department

January, 1954-June, 1955—
The 21 entered Communist China. Some made propaganda broadcasts. One was reported to have died. Remainder are said by Communists to be either attending People's University at Peiping or working in a paper mill in Shantung

June 18, 1955—
Communists announced Cowart, Griggs, Bell would be permitted to leave; 17 Americans remained with Communists

© 1955. By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

Cradle-to-Grave Security:

MORE AHEAD FOR MORE PEOPLE

A Plan for Women . . . Disabled . . . Self-Employed

A drive for more social-welfare programs is under way.

Self-employed people, most disabled persons, all women are listed for more, or quicker, or bigger pensions.

There soon may be few "uninsured" risks left in life.

New, highly ambitious plans to pay more and bigger pensions to millions of workers and their families now are moving ahead under strong pressure. These plans, affecting millions and costing billions, are winning wide support in the House and Senate.

Here's what is involved in these plans to expand the social-welfare programs:

- For wives, widows and working women—pensions starting at age 62, instead of the present 65.
- For physicians, dentists, lawyers—inclusion in the old-age retirement system for the first time.
- For all self-employed people—businessmen, farmers, doctors, lawyers, others—tax exemption for income invested in individual retirement programs.
- For nearly all who work for a living—insurance against total disability, with immediate pensions for the totally disabled.
- For disabled children of widows and retired couples—pensions for the children and their mothers, no matter what the ages of the women or their disabled children.

That's the bare outline of the far-reaching plan to "close the gaps" in the country's vast system of social "insurance." All told, the new programs will cost 1.5 billion to 2 billion dollars a year. The price will be higher payroll taxes, sooner or later, for workers, employers and the self-employed.

Already, the social-welfare system attempts to protect 54 million workers and their families against just about every ordinary hazard. Now, the campaign is on to add protection from total disability and proceed toward a real "cradle to the grave" security system.

New plans will affect nearly everybody.

Women first. The idea that women should get their pensions at a younger age than men is one that has almost no opposition. Women, on the average, are three to four years younger than their husbands. This means that, under present law, thousands of men reaching age 65 are denied pensions for their wives until three or four years later.

What often happens is that the worker, at 65, decides that he and his wife cannot afford to retire on even a maximum pension for a worker—$100 a month now and soon to reach $108.50.

Latest Pension Plan for the Self-Employed

WHAT IS PROPOSED:

1. **A tax-aided, individual annuity program for doctors, lawyers, businessmen, farmers, other self-employed persons.**
2. **Extension of Social Security to self-employed people not now covered—doctors, dentists, lawyers.**

***EXAMPLE:* Married man, age 45, earning $20,000 a year.**

WHAT HE WOULD PAY—

10 per cent of income, or $2,000 a year, into individual annuity program. That much of his income would be tax-exempt. Social Security tax—$126 a year at start, rising in later years.

WHAT HE WOULD GET—

At age 65, individual annuity income of $279 a month and a tax-free Social Security pension of $162.80 a month . . . . . TOTAL: $441.80 a month.

If he dies at, say, age 60—when his wife is 57—individual annuity of $146.28 a month for his wife—plus a widow's Social Security pension of $81.40 a month when she reaches retirement age . . . . . WIDOW'S TOTAL: $227.68 a month.

© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

So the worker waits until his wife becomes 65 and claims her pension.

With a lower pension age for women, more couples can retire when the husband reaches 65—with combined pensions that run as high as $150 now and will soon reach a top of $162.80.

Widows and working women are under something of the same handicap. Since men usually die younger than women, many wives are left without a livelihood.

Now, more than a million women in these situations will become eligible for immediate pensions if the benefit age for women is dropped to 62. Specifically:

- About 650,000 women workers between the ages of 62 and 65 will be permitted to retire on old-age pensions of up to $100 or so a month.
- Some 275,000 wives of retired workers will start drawing wives' pensions of as much as $50 monthly, or a bit more.
- Also, 130,000 wives, between age 62 and 65, whose husbands are more than 65 but not yet retired, will be able to draw pensions if they and their husbands decide to retire.
- And 175,000 widows will start drawing widows' pension checks immediately—checks running up to about $80 a month.

All over the country, at the same time, hundreds of thousands of wives, widows and women workers nearing age 62 will know they have three fewer years to wait for Social Security pensions.

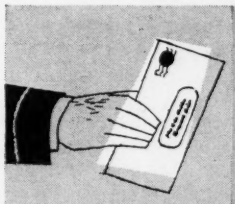
For the self-employed. Really big things are being planned for the self-employed—Social Security coverage for those not now included, plus a private retirement program all their own.

Right now, physicians, dentists, other members of the medical profession, and lawyers are excluded from the old-age retirement system where they are in private practice—that is, self-employed. Idea is to bring these professionals into the big system unless their spokesmen again object too vigorously.

In addition, the plan is to give to all self-employed men and women a brand-new retirement program to match the one already available to many employes. Under present law, more than 12 million employes are covered by retirement programs paid for by employers. Money paid into those plans is tax-free income to employes. Self-employed people have no employers to do that for them.

Under the new plan, a self-employed businessman or professional would be allowed to set aside 10 per cent of his income, tax-free, for retirement. A man earning $75,000 could put aside $7,500—the maximum—of tax-free annual income. The money would have to go into

(Continued on page 28)



What New Pension Plans Mean for Women

FOR WIVES—

Under present rules, worker at age 65 can draw up to $108.50 a month. His wife gets nothing till she is 65. Wives, on average, are about 3 years younger than husbands.

Under proposed rules, wife can draw a pension at age 62—so couple gets $162.80 a month when worker reaches age 65.

FOR WIDOWS—

Under present rules, a widow of an insured worker must wait till age 65 before drawing widow's pension, unless she has minor children.

Under proposed rules, widow can draw her pension at age 62.

FOR WOMEN WORKERS—

Under present rules, women workers must wait till age 65 to retire on old-age pensions.

Under proposed rules, women employes—and self-employed women—can draw pensions up to $108.50 a month starting at age 62. And, if disabled, they draw pensions at any age.

FOR WIVES AND WIDOWS, UNDER AGE 62, WITH DISABLED CHILDREN—

Under present rules, widows, and wives of retired workers, get no pensions until age 65, unless they have children under age 18.

Under proposed rules, widows of insured workers and wives of retired workers will draw pensions at any age if they have disabled children of any age—and so will the disabled children.

© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

[continued]

MORE PENSIONS FOR MORE PEOPLE

earmarked annuities, or into retirement programs set up by business and professional organizations. The funds could not be touched until the individual reached age 65—or died.

The chart on page 26 illustrates the result. A $20,000-a-year businessman, now 45, with a wife 42, could start investing $2,000 a year, tax-free, in annuities. At 65, he and his wife could retire on an annuity and their Social Security pensions. With an annuity of the type illustrated, their monthly retirement income would total $441.80—plus income from any other investments he had made along the line.

Protection for the family against death of the breadwinner would be substantial, too. If this businessman died at age 60, his wife would receive $146.28 a month from her husband's annuity. And, five years later, at age 62, she would collect her Social Security pension of $81.40—for a total income of $227.68. That excludes the proceeds of ordinary life insurance.

For the disabled. Pensions for workers "totally and permanently disabled" are the broadest, most basic change now proposed for Social Security.

As the law stands, a worker who is totally disabled by illness or accident must wait until he reaches 65 before drawing his pension. While he waits, he must live off his wife's earnings, his savings, his relatives or "relief."

The plan is to give the worker who is totally and permanently disabled a regular "retirement" pension almost immediately. Pension amounts would be the same as for an aged person.

To illustrate, a factory hand blinded at, say, age 30 would apply for his pension as soon as six months after his injury—not much longer, perhaps, than it would take doctors to determine his condition and certify his case. If he qualified, he could collect as much as $100 to $108.50 monthly for life.

And tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of workers now disabled and waiting for their old-age pensions would become eligible overnight.

Even if this plan becomes law, however, many totally disabled workers will find they cannot meet the strict and rigid rules offered for disability pensions. The worker must be afflicted so severely that he cannot earn any substantial amount in any sort of work. And he must be expected by doctors to remain in that condition until death. Only blindness is listed specifically as a qualifying disability.

Also, only workers employed under Social Security for a long time could qualify. They must have worked under the system for half of the 10 years just before their illness or accident and nearly half of the three years just before their disability.

Even those who could qualify would get no benefits for their families. Only the worker's own pension is included.

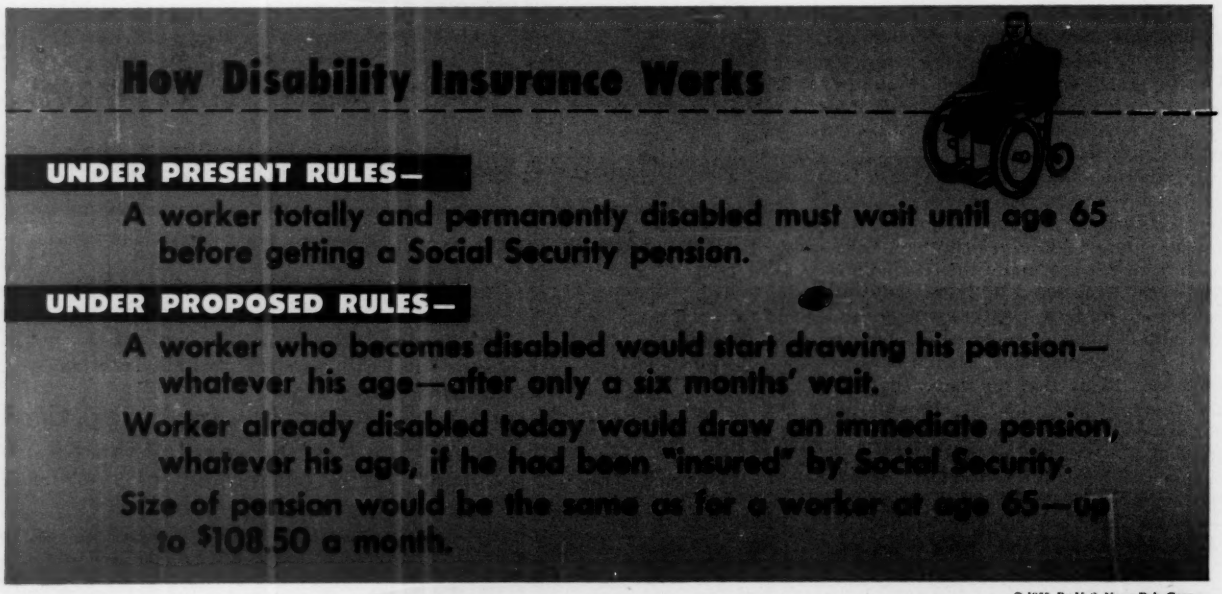
These limitations are not preventing opponents of disability insurance from labeling the plan as "too costly" and "socialistic." Some Senators, including Harry F. Byrd (Dem.), of Virginia, chairman of the Finance Committee, have as many doubts as they had in 1949, when the Senate killed a House-passed plan for disability insurance.

Loudest opponents of the plan outside Congress are spokesmen for the country's physicians. It is these physicians who would have to decide when a worker is "totally and permanently disabled." Doctors always have fought strenuously to avoid any such close contact with the Government.

For disabled children. Special hardship cases are the object of another change now in the works.

In present law, wives and widows get no benefits after the youngest child reaches age 18, unless the widow or wife is of retirement age. And dependent children of retired workers, or of widows, get no benefits after age 18. Many wives and widows, however, have children who, though over 18, are mentally or physically unable to care for themselves. In those cases, the plan is to pay benefits to the mothers and disabled children even after the child passes 18.

Preview. That's a look ahead at the big U. S. social-welfare system. Still other proposals are being studied. It's the program illustrated in the charts on these pages, however, for which the greatest political pressure is building in the House and Senate.


How Disability Insurance Works
UNDER PRESENT RULES—
A worker totally and permanently disabled must wait until age 65 before getting a Social Security pension.
UNDER PROPOSED RULES—
A worker who becomes disabled would start drawing his pension—whatever his age—after only a six months' wait.
Worker already disabled today would draw an immediate pension, whatever his age, if he had been "insured" by Social Security.
Size of pension would be the same as for a worker at age 65—up to $108.50 a month.

© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

This cute trick saves 80 million hours in the kitchen!

America's women are on the ball. With families to take care of, jobs to hold down, and countless new activities bidding for their time, America's homemakers have welcomed new ideas for cutting kitchen time.

Far from being neglected, America's families are eating better than ever. Many a homemaker, for example, without risking the failure of a self-prepared cake, has used the new ready-mixes with assurance of success. So much so that last year's sales are estimated as high as 20 million cases at a retail volume of $170 million — an increase of almost 700% since 1947! On the average, each ready-mixed cake saved at least ten minutes, saving Mrs. America a total of 80 million hours in the kitchen last year.

This is another instance where a Columbia-Southern product works unseen. As a leading producer of bicarbonate of soda, Columbia-Southern is a prime supplier to the cake mix industry.

Why Bicarbonate of Soda?

Bicarbonate of soda is responsible for lightness and fluffiness in baked goods.

The "bicarb," which is a mild alkali, reacts with a mild acid in the mix when moisture is present. The reaction liberates carbon dioxide gas, which forms millions of tiny bubbles in the batter, causing it to raise. These little bubbles determine the lightness, smoothness, and texture of the finished cake.

COLUMBIA-SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION

SUBSIDIARY OF PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

ONE GATEWAY CENTER PITTSBURGH 22 PENNSYLVANIA

CHLORINE, ALKALIES AND RELATED CHEMICALS

OFFICES IN PRINCIPAL CITIES

IN CANADA: Standard Chemical Limited and its Commercial Chemicals Division

Top Experts Answer

IS POLIO VACCINE SAFE NOW?

A vaccine once hailed as the answer to polio now is being blamed for causing cases of the disease it was supposed to prevent.

Does this mean the vaccine is dangerous? Or have new tests now insured its safety?

Editors of *U.S. News & World Report* put such questions to six experts, whose answers appear in the interviews below.

In Idaho, where a polio outbreak followed vaccinations, an official questions the vaccine's safety. But officials in Canada and Denmark report its safe use in their countries. And Dr. Salk, the vaccine's developer, points out 6 million children in U.S. got it without harm.

Polio authorities, at a congressional hearing, argued the vaccine's merits, called it safe by a vote of 8 to 3. You get the views of some of them in accompanying transcripts.

"WE WILL BE MORE CAUTIOUS THE SECOND TIME"

An Interview With L. J. Peterson, of Idaho

L. J. PETERSON regards the polio outbreak among Idaho children who got Salk-vaccine shots as the most trying problem he has faced in a long career as a public-health officer.

He got his master's degree in public health at the University of Michigan—where vaccine developer Dr. Jonas E. Salk later taught—and joined the Idaho Department of Public Health in 1926. He has been its acting director since 1943.

Mr. Peterson is a member of the executive committee and the governing council of the American Public Health Association.

At BOISE

Q What happened to the vaccination program in Idaho, Mr. Peterson?

A What has happened in the vaccination program in Idaho was totally unexpected. In many respects we feel it constitutes a unique situation in the whole history of vaccination programs.

We, in company with everyone else, hailed the announcement of the success of the vaccination program last year and we were enthusiastic and eager to begin the large-scale vaccination program as outlined by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis this year.

Five days after the beginning of our vaccination program, we had reported to us two cases of poliomyelitis in children who had received the vaccine. At the time, we were not greatly disturbed because we had expected to have some coincidental cases develop following vaccination. We did not anticipate what was to follow.

Q Were children given polio of the paralytic type by the vaccination?

A Yes they were.

Q How many children appear to be in this group?

A Twenty-one children developed poliomyelitis following vaccination. These children generally had a severe form of the disease and almost without exception showed paralysis in the arm of injection.

Q Would you say that there was too much of a rush to go ahead with the vaccination program and get it over in a hurry before the start of this year's polio season?

A At the time the program was started we thought that adequate safeguards had been provided or else we would never have co-operated. In retrospect, which is always an easy way to be wise, we, of course, do feel that the program was too hurried. We feel that some well-established and time-honored methods of procedure must have been ignored.

Q Do you have any plans for going ahead with a vaccination program using a vaccine that is held out as being safe?

A We went ahead once with a vaccine which was described to us as safe. We will, of course, be more cautious the second time. We will demand much greater reassurances and evidence of absolute safety before we again as a State public health department recommend poliomyelitis vaccine to the physicians and residents of the State.

Q Is there any chance of your going ahead with the program this year?

Copyright 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

Worry Over Epidemic in Idaho . . . Evidence Favoring Vaccine . . . No Fuss in Canada . . . How Denmark Changed Program

A We certainly will not go ahead with the program until the polio season is over. Our original feeling was that we would not go ahead until late fall, but our present feeling is that we do not want another mass program in Idaho. If vaccine is to be given this fall, it should be on a family physician-patient basis. We will furnish the vaccine to the physicians and let them go ahead.

Q If there is federal financing of polio shots beyond what is now assured by the NFIP, would that be considered by you as a certainty that the shots are safe, and would you use such a program?

A Certainly we would feel that the shots would be safe. But even then we would not change our minds about another mass program. This thing, in Idaho, for some time to come is going to be on a family physician-patient basis. Regardless of how we get the vaccine, we would distribute it to the physicians to administer.

Q Do you feel that parents have lost faith in the program, and are suspicious of the vaccine?

A We do not believe that the parents are half as suspicious as we are. We have continued to have requests from parents for the second injection, and we know that a few injections of poliomyelitis vaccine from companies other than Cutter Laboratories have been given by private physicians since the vaccination program on a State-wide basis was discontinued.

Q But weren't the people in Idaho shocked by what has happened?

A We do not feel that the residents of Idaho were shocked as much as they were disappointed and confused. We have bent over backwards to keep the physicians and the public informed as to what has been occurring. Very early in the course of the difficulty we contacted top officials in the public-health field and Dr. Salk himself. We have outlined a continuing course of study on our own in the belief that because of the uniqueness of the Idaho situation, valuable information about poliomyelitis as a disease could be obtained. We have been disappointed in the apparent lack of interest of all of the developers and promoters of the vaccine program.

Q What do you think should have been done?

A We think we had reason to expect that top scientists in this field should have immediately come to Idaho to help us and suggest to us methods of study and of possible amelioration of our situation. We feel that what has been happening in Idaho is of potential significance for the entire United States, and that lessons that might be learned here could be of enormous value in the future control of this disease.

We have had the feeling at times that some individuals in authority have been operating on the basis that, if they only close their eyes long enough, the Idaho problem would disappear. We feel that any mistakes made should be admitted—and go on from there.

Q What will it take to convince you that new supplies of the polio vaccine will be safe?

A We believe additional field trials are necessary in order to prove that a vaccine is safe and effective based on two premises:

1. It should be proved that no cases appear in the vaccinated individuals; and
2. that there is a definite rise in the antibody level of those individuals who show no protective antibodies prior to vaccination against any of the three types of polio virus.

Q Did not the 1954 field trials cover these two requirements satisfactorily?

A We don't like the idea of using antibody response in a child already having immunity as the basis of the conclusions drawn from the field trials. In the field trials, and we here have reports only for Ada County [in which Boise is located], where the test children had antibodies, they got a good rise in antibody level if they had had the polio or had been exposed to it.

But, of 44 who showed no antibodies in any of the three types of polio prior to vaccination, only eight got a rise in titer [antibody level]. These children are the ones who need the antipolio protection, but they didn't get the antibody level that would give them this protection.

Q How then did the field tests come out so favorably?

A That's just the point. We feel the question should be asked of Dr. Francis [Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr., head of the group evaluating the 1954 trials] as to what their conclusions were based on. What we would like to know is this:

Did Dr. Francis use those individuals who had no prior resistance as the basis of measuring the results of the Salk vaccine, or did Dr. Francis use the increase in titer as the measure of the efficacy of the vaccine in the field trials? That is the $64 question.

Q Have any community facilities, such as swimming pools, been closed in Idaho, or meetings prohibited because of the polio scare?

A Yes, a few have been closed. But there is no panic. There is no State-wide ban or order against any such facilities, nor do we expect any. Children and adults both have had frequent associations and these associations will continue. We believe little could be gained at this time by placing a ban on meetings or community activities.

(Continued on next page)

Polio in 1955— Near Highest Rate Ever

	Number of Cases So Far in Polio "Disease Year" (Starting April 1)
1955	2,038
1954	2,087
1953	1,938
1952	1,357
1951	979
1950	1,199

Note: 1954 was the peak year for the period April 1 to the last week in June; 1952 was all-time high in cases for full year.

Source: U. S. Public Health Service

. . . "We have great doubts that the Salk vaccine is effective"

We have advised Idaho residents to follow the usual polio precautions which are advisable during any polio season. These, of course, include avoiding fatigue, chilling, and to continue only usual associations. We have attempted to discourage large meetings such as interstate get-togethers, but no restrictions have been placed on such things as schools, churches or baseball.

IDAHO'S EXPERIENCE—

Q How much of an epidemic is there in Idaho this year? Is it worse than it normally is for this time of year?

A The best indication of the seriousness of the situation is a comparison of figures of poliomyelitis incidence this year with past years. At the time of this interview, there have been 86 reported cases of poliomyelitis in Idaho.

The two highest years previously reported were 1948, when there were 39 cases reported through May, and in 1950, when there were 40 cases reported for the same months. In both of these years there apparently was a carry-over in the first several months of the year from epidemics occurring the previous year. In the other years from 1938 through 1954, we had an average of eight cases occurring each year for the period January through May.

Through April 25 of this year, there had occurred in Idaho 11 cases of poliomyelitis. The first two cases reported that were apparently the result of the vaccination program occurred on April 26. Up to June 11 there have been 21 cases occurring in the children who received vaccinations; 49 cases occurring in children and adults who were associates of vaccinated children—the great majority of these were family contacts—and 4 cases with apparent close associations.

Q How many deaths have occurred among these cases?

A Six deaths have occurred; 3 of which were children who had been vaccinated, 1 was a child who had a family contact, and the other 2 were adults whose children had received the vaccine.

Q Did the paralysis in the cases that developed since April 26 occur in the limbs where the vaccination was given?

A In nearly every vaccinated case paralysis developed in the arm of injection and almost 100 per cent of the vaccinated cases show some form of paralysis. The majority of the contact cases also had paralysis ranging from one extremity to all four extremities.

The department sent a questionnaire to all the physicians practicing in the State requesting them to report the number of vaccinated children who showed some symptoms of poliomyelitis but in whom no diagnosis had been made, and also requesting the number of contacts of vaccinated children who showed some symptoms but in whom no definite diagnosis had been made. From the large number of patients in both categories reported, it must be assumed that there was a large amount of subclinical or abortive poliomyelitis. Nearly 100 cases were reported as having some symptoms following vaccination but were not diagnosed as polio by the doctors because no paralysis developed.

Cultures have been made from throat swabs and stool specimens from vaccinated children, family associates, well children and the subclinical cases. Up to June 11 there have been 54 isolations of type I virus from these individuals. Sixteen isolations were from patients; 34 isolations were from family associates of actual cases, and 4 isolations from families where there was no association with a case or indication of disease, but at least a single member of the family had received the vaccine.

Dr. Carl Eklund, virologist from the Rocky Mountain Laboratories in Hamilton, Mont., has assisted the department throughout the epidemic and has been primarily responsible for study aspects of the virus isolations. He has just reported that type I virus has been isolated from both lots of vaccine used in Idaho.

Q Have you any way of knowing how the live virus came to be in the vaccine—was it never killed, did it fail to show up in tests, or did it come from contamination?

A That answer the Public Health Service is supposed to find out. We have no way of doing so.

Q Do you think the vaccinations caused the polio that has broken out, or did it provoke existing infection into activity?

A Taking the fact that we have only type I virus cases, and that the type I virus also was active in the vaccine, that all the early cases were in vaccinated individuals, that the incubation period was short, and that the paralysis occurred at the site of the injection, on this basis we do believe that the vaccine provoked the outbreaks.

Q Since vaccinated children seem able to pass infection to their family associates, would you favor a program where entire families are vaccinated if they have children in the susceptible age group?

A No. We feel there should be no vaccination of any individual until a safe vaccine has been developed. Once this is accomplished, you don't need such a precaution as vaccinating entire families.

"A TEMPORARY SETBACK"—

Q Do you think that polio can be licked with a vaccine?

A We do believe there will be a vaccine perfected for poliomyelitis. Our experience here in Idaho, we feel sure, is a temporary setback that will add much to produce a safe, yet potent, vaccine in the future. The Idaho experience would indicate that the risk of getting polio was greater if one was vaccinated. But we do believe that our experience will be of value in safeguarding against a recurrence of this situation. This is the sort of thing that you hope won't happen but does sometimes occur when you start something new.

Q Then you are not convinced that the Salk vaccine is effective against paralytic polio?

A No, I am not at all convinced.

Q Is that doubt based only on the outcome of the vaccination program here in Idaho?

A No. From all the evidence available, we have great doubts at this time that the Salk vaccine is effective against paralytic polio. We should very much like to have the opportunity to study the detailed record of the experience gained in the vaccine trial program in 1954. We have been attempting for some time to obtain this information without a great deal of success.

The fragmentary information that we have about the trial vaccine program in Idaho last year would indicate to us that the vaccine given then was not very effective. We had no cases develop in vaccinated children and we had three cases

. . . "Every type of vaccine carries an element of risk"

of polio in the control group. This would indicate that the vaccine was effective.

However, the meager data that we have about the antibody response to the vaccine last year would indicate that the vaccine was not effective and that perhaps the fact that we had cases of poliomyelitis in the control group whereas we did not have cases in the vaccinated group could have occurred on a coincidental basis alone.

Q Does the individual receiving the shot take a calculated risk?

A Every type of vaccine used in human beings as well as in animals probably carries an element of risk. Inoculation for rabies probably is a good example. Some people receiving a course of rabies vaccine will develop moderate to serious complications from that vaccine. This is a calculated risk that must be taken in a disease which has a 100 per cent mortality. Obviously, in rabies a large calculated risk can and should be taken. In other diseases, including poliomyelitis, where fatal outcome rates are not so high, the degree of calculated risk taken must be much lower.

—Black Star

VACCINATION AGAINST POLIO
". . . promises very great benefits"

Q In polio to date, is that risk greater than the risk that goes with not taking the shots?

A Because there were no serious consequences from the vaccine given to a relatively large number of children last year, it was felt that children receiving the vaccine this year ran little, if any, risk.

If the vaccine is safe, then the risk would be negligible as compared to contracting the disease. From comparable statistics, children in the first and second grades who received the vaccine this year in Idaho were exposed to a much greater risk than they would have had if they had not received the vaccine. Only one case of poliomyelitis in a vaccinated child has developed since May 26.

Q Is there any proof in your opinion that the Salk vaccine is even partially effective? There is some criticism in this country that the 1954 test results were inconclusive because of 90 cases of individuals contracting polio within 30 days of taking the shots who were not calculated in the results?

A The only evidence available that the vaccine was effective is the Francis report. So far as we know, the figures available from the trial study last year have not been published in any scientific journal, nor have the complete results been made available for independent study beyond the Francis report itself in the *Journal* of the American Public Health Association. So far as we know, the results have been based upon the number of cases that occurred or did not occur in the test group.

However, a much more scientific answer would be the findings of the antibody levels obtained on these same children. We do not have those findings, but would like to have them very much.

Q Is there also danger to the family or associates of the child receiving the shots?

A Only one conclusion can be drawn from what has been happening in Idaho. Families of children receiving the vaccine were placed in grave danger. To date, 49 contacts of children who received the vaccine have been diagnosed as having poliomyelitis. We believe that contacts of these children have developed poliomyelitis because the children received an injection containing live virus, and as a consequence became carriers and spreaders of the disease. Type I virus has been isolated from children who developed polio following vaccination; from children who received the vaccine but developed no symptoms of the disease; and from family associates of children who were vaccinated. In Idaho the only reasonable explanation possible is that individuals exposed to a vaccinated child were placed in danger.

TESTS FOR SALK FORMULA—

Q Can tests be devised for polio vaccine that can assure absolute safety, as with other vaccines?

A We feel this is a question that only a virologist can answer. Safety tests for other vaccines over the years have been proven effective. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that the same thing is not true of poliomyelitis vaccine, or can be made to come true. Ever since April 27, the day the vaccine program was stopped in Idaho, we have lived 24 hours a day with poliomyelitis. We have been in touch with many of the leading figures in the poliomyelitis field. As a result, the question which we would like to have answered for us is: Is it possible to produce a *safe* and *potent* vaccine according to the Salk formula?

Q Do you feel that the new federal testing requirements give that assurance?

A We believe that the tests that were applied before the release of this vaccine were considered to be 100 per cent reliable. We feel that Cutter Laboratories probably produced the vaccine which was used in Idaho exactly as they had been instructed to do. With the knowledge available to us at this time, we have nothing but sympathy for the

(Continued on next page)

. . . "Our answer: Vaccine used in Idaho has not been safe"

Cutter Laboratories who, we feel, may be receiving unjust criticism.

Q Would you be willing to go ahead with vaccinations with a vaccine other than that made by Cutter?

A No, we have postponed our program indefinitely, regardless of the make of the vaccine.

Q Would you say that today the polio vaccine is as safe as other vaccines?

A The only answer that we can give is that the poliomyelitis vaccine used in Idaho this year has not been safe. In the face of the present experience, it will be some time before Salk-formula poliomyelitis vaccine will be considered absolutely safe in Idaho. As did everyone else, we believed—and so informed the public—that this vaccine was safe. Needless to say: once bitten, twice shy.

Q The Mahoney strain of type I polio virus used in making the vaccine is said to be especially dangerous. Do you think it should be replaced with another strain?

A The choice of strains to be used must depend upon the antibody-producing response in the injected individual. If the Mahoney strain of type I virus produces antibody responses far superior to any other strain, or it is the only strain known to produce antibody response, then it would have to be used. However, it appears at this time to be too virulent to be used in a beginning vaccination program. But we think this could be worked out later.

Q From what you say, it seems that the present vaccine, if safe, is not effective and, if effective, is not always safe. Is that correct?

A It may not be effective. I don't think we have proof of that yet. That's what we urgently want to find out—whether a safe vaccine can also be effective.

"MORE THAN 6 MILLION CHILDREN WERE VACCINATED SAFELY"

An Interview With Dr. Jonas E. Salk, of Pennsylvania

DR. JONAS E. SALK *pulled together previous research, developed the antipolio vaccine that bears his name.*

At 40, he joins a gallery of famous men who have made important contributions to medical progress. He became interested in the polio problem in 1949, began work in earnest on his vaccine two years later. He has since given it to 10,000 children, including his own three sons.

Dr. Salk is director of the virus-research laboratory at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine. Besides work on polio, he is interested in vaccines for influenza.

At PITTSBURGH

Q Dr. Salk, the point has been made that the Mahoney strain of polio virus used in making the vaccine might well be replaced by a strain which has less virulence. Then, if there were any live virus that might conceivably slip through into the vaccine, there would be less risk in vaccinating the child—

A What you're saying, in effect, is that if the vaccine isn't prepared properly, would it be safe? I would say that no vaccine should be used that has infective virus in it.

Q There is ample evidence, then, that a vaccine can be made safely with the Mahoney strain?

A Vaccine *has* been made safely with the Mahoney strain. It was done all the way through our own experiments. It was done for the field-trial material. And more than 6 million children have safely received the vaccine that contained the Mahoney strain in this country, to say nothing of the experience in Canada.

Q The question has been raised as to whether a vaccine that is made completely safe by inactivating the virus can be effective—

A Well, that is not so, because the margin between the point of destruction of infectivity and the beginning of loss of antigenicity [ability to produce immunity] is very great in terms of vaccine preparation. So there's no danger of that. Furthermore, there's a potency test which the vaccine has to have, and the potency test has not been altered in any way.

Q Going back to the Mahoney strain—are you giving consideration to substituting another strain for it in the vaccine?

A Our interest in changing the strain arose a year ago when we learned that the type I component [the portion of the vaccine giving protection against one of the three types of polio virus] lost potency more rapidly than did type II or III. Then we immediately stepped up our investigation in wanting to get a vaccine as effective as possible.

For that reason, we initiated and pressed forward studies that have been in the works for more than a year now—studies on the differences in antigentic potency of the different strains, and we found that there are wide differences. If one is going to make a change, one ought to make a change for the better, and this will be done to provide a strain that is similar in antigenic potency to types II and III.

Q It has been suggested the vaccine's effectiveness as shown in the 1954 tests may be open to question because in a number of instances the vaccine failed to produce disease-fighting antibodies in children—

A What you are asking is, is there a relationship between antibody level and susceptibility to the disease? This has been established again and again now in many different ways.

We have shown that certain batches of vaccine used in the 1954 trials were not as good antibody producers as others. Obviously, we wouldn't expect such batches to be as good

. . . "Antibody response occurred in 80 to 100 per cent"

immunizing agents. If a vaccine does not produce antibody, that means you would not expect it to produce immunity. The new batches of vaccine consistently produce antibody far more effectively than did the batches used in the 1954 trials.

Q Is there any indication that you can give as to how much protection one gets from a single shot?

A I can tell you about the antibody response to a single dose of vaccine in children who have no antibodies for any of the three types. With the new vaccines now available for use, the antibody response occurred in 80 to 100 per cent of the children in the schools that we've studied.

Q Can you say that with one shot a child is one third as completely immune as he would be with a full course? Or one fourth or one sixth? Is there some rule-of-thumb figure?

A No. What happens in the first dose is that, say, 80 per cent or more of the children develop a response. After the second dose, *x* per cent more, approximating or approaching 100 per cent, develop response. And then, when the third dose is given a year later, this percentage, which should be close to 100 per cent, is further enhanced to much higher levels, from which the decline is very gradual.

Q The initial shot doesn't give a very high level?

A Not as high as the third one.

Q But it is high enough to protect the child in event of a normal exposure to polio?

A Yes, most children.

"OF ALL VACCINES, THIS IS ONE OF THE PUREST"

Transcript of Testimony by Dr. Jonas E. Salk, of Pittsburgh

Following are extracts from the transcript of hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Science of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives on June 22, 1955:

Dr. Salk: I do want to say that, of all of the vaccines in this field of work, this is perhaps one of the purest. . . .

° ° °

It is important, of course, to be sure that all of the [virus] in a given batch of material is killed. That this has already been accomplished has been shown by the safe vaccination of more than 6 million children in this country and additional children in other countries of the world, making a total of approximately 7.5 million.

° ° °

The question has also been raised because of the recent events as to whether or not it is possible that virus may have been reactivated or may have come back to life again. We have never been able to demonstrate that virus comes back to live again, so to speak, if the treatment is really carried out to the point of no return. If the treatment is carried out to the point where, in fact, death has occurred, this reactivation does not occur.

° ° °

Representative Macdonald (Dem.), of Massachusetts: I . . . read in the papers that there have been some incidents where adults in families of children who had been inoculated had come down with polio. I was wondering if that were true. . . .

Dr. Salk: The fact is correct. The interpretation is then the next important thing. I believe that this is probably germane to the whole question that will be unfolded relative to the report of the Cutter experience, because I believe that it is in families where the Cutter vaccine was used that these observations have been made. From this I think you can see that there seems to have been an association of this phenomenon with the use of vaccine where children have also acquired the disease. . . .

. . . The impression [has been] created that children who are vaccinated are capable of transmitting the disease to adults. This is not meant to imply that children who receive proper vaccine can transmit the disease. It is clear that children who receive properly prepared vaccine do not transmit any disease to adults because they themselves do not get any disease from vaccine.

I don't want to complicate matters further, other than to say that children who are vaccinated can become carriers at a later time . . . because the vaccine does not prevent infection entirely, but merely is meant to prevent paralysis.

° ° °

Representative Springer (Rep.), of Illinois: . . . It has been pointed out at various times that, north of the border, Canada has been having rather a success with its vaccine program. May I ask if the vaccine produced in Canada is made by the identical process used in the United States?

Dr. Salk: Yes, it is.

° ° °

Mr. Springer: In Canada, has the same number of expected polio cases developed there that have developed in the United States?

Dr. Salk: I don't know what the figures are. . . . I do know this, that one case did occur a day after inoculation in a child who had a minor illness three or four days before injection. That was the only instance in 900,000 inoculations.

But Canada is north of the border and polio begins to occur there much later than it does in this country, and certainly, from the seasonal point of view, they were in a far more favorable position to have gotten this kind of effect than were we any place in the United States.

° ° °

Representative Macdonald: I was interested that the production of vaccine is the same in Canada, but I was wondering if the check of the safety of the vaccine was the same in Canada as it is here, or has been heretofore.

Dr. Salk: I have been in very close touch with the Connaught Laboratories [in Canada], and they have followed the specifications and minimum requirements as initially set forth, and on the basis of the original documents have carried through, as has also been true for most of the companies in this country.

They have introduced—they have not introduced anything new—but you are aware of the fact that the tests are done on each batch not only at the Connaught Laboratories, but in Ottawa. The reason for this, I think, should be

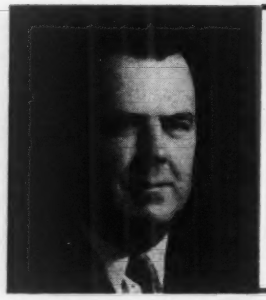
(Continued on next page)

. . . "In Canada they were testing the test"

perfectly obvious. This is the first year that they have gone into this business. They essentially were testing the test, just as we were testing the test last year, when it was being done not only by the pharmaceutical company, by the National Institutes of Health, but in our laboratories. Whether they will continue this practice is another matter. But it appears a perfectly natural and reasonable thing for them to have done during their first year of experience.

"THE MAHONEY VIRUS SHOULD BE REPLACED"

An Interview With Howard J. Shaughnessy, of Illinois



HOWARD J. SHAUGHNESSY *is one of the experts asked by the U. S. Public Health Service to serve on its advisory committee on the Salk vaccine.*

He is head of the Department of Public Health at the University of Illinois College of Medicine and is also director of laboratories for the Illinois Department of Public Health.

He received a Ph.D. in bacteriology at Yale and has taught and lectured at a number of medical schools. He is a recognized authority on virus diseases and directs a Chicago group engaged in research on a vaccine against polio.

At CHICAGO

Q Are you convinced that the Salk vaccine is effective against paralytic polio, Dr. Shaughnessy?

A Based on the field trials and on laboratory experience, it was undoubtedly effective in 1954. On the other hand, the fact that an effectiveness rate of only 62 to 68 per cent was found against the most prevalent type of polio, type I, shows that further improvement of the vaccine is needed. However, these conclusions were based on 1954 experience. This year, conditions may be different and we cannot predict what the effectiveness of the vaccine will be in 1955.

Q What causes you to conclude that it is effective, to this extent?

A The results of the 1954 field trials, and the laboratory tests, indicating good production of antibodies both in animals and in people.

Q Do children getting the vaccine run any risks?

A Yes.

Q How big is that risk? Is it greater than the risk that goes with not taking the shot?

A Based on everything we know to date, the risk from inoculation is not nearly as great. But our information on this point is incomplete as yet. We lack experience with inoculations given during the polio season. We also know little about the risk of producing "carriers," through use of the vaccine. If too many of these "carriers" infect other people, the risk will be greater than was assumed.

The effect of a vaccine on a human being cannot be predicted with complete accuracy. Probably we won't know about the relative risk of vaccination as against natural infection until we have tried the Salk vaccine on millions of children.

We hope to get to the point where there will be virtually no risk—where there will not be enough live virus to affect anyone adversely.

Q There is some criticism of the 1954 tests because 90 cases of individuals contracting polio within 30 days of taking the shots were not calculated in the results. Is this a valid criticism?

A No, that has been explained satisfactorily. The cases were distributed in such a way that it appears they were not related to the vaccine.

Q Is there danger to the family of a child receiving vaccine?

A Yes, potential danger, because some children receiving shots have been shown to become "carriers" of the virus.

Q Then there may be danger to those who associate with persons who have been vaccinated. Or is there any other reasonable explanation of the "contact" cases?

A There is no other reasonable explanation that occurs to us. There are too many "contact" cases to be due to mere coincidence, I think.

Q Can tests be devised which would give complete assurance that the vaccine is safe?

A No, not presently. The only way that could be made absolutely sure would be to test all the virus material in a lot of vaccine. Then we wouldn't have any material left for vaccinations. But, with experience, I think the vaccine can be made safe, or at least we will know what the degree of risk is. That is, we will know whether the chance of contracting polio is, say, 1 in 100,000 or 1 in a million. We may have to accept some degree of risk such as this.

Q Are strict tests being applied now, for safety?

A The tests being applied are the best that can be devised at the present time and still make it possible to produce a vaccine.

Q Were strict tests applied in the first place?

A They were, within the limits of knowledge at the time. The tests last year and early this year were thought to be the most rigorous ever applied to any vaccine. Last year's field trials seemed to indicate they were adequate. But considerably more was learned when the vaccine was used on a large scale, and the tests have now been made more stringent.

. . . "The program should be continued—after polio season"

Q Have the new safety measures introduced in the manufacturing process in recent weeks made the risk negligible?

A I couldn't say it is negligible. I just don't know. But I hope so.

Q Then should vaccination be continued during the polio season, when it may involve maximum risk?

A The poliomyelitis technical advisory committee of the Illinois Department of Public Health, and the department itself, have recommended the suspension of polio vaccination during the polio season. They felt it could be dangerous if a child received vaccine during that period. Moreover, everybody is looking now for cases associated with the vaccine. So, whenever an outbreak might occur, the vaccine would be pretty sure to be blamed even if it was not at fault.

Q Have your research efforts in Chicago indicated that there might be clusters of virus that escape and remain active after the killing process is applied?

A Yes, we have found this a very important factor in our own work. We had to develop elaborate filtration methods to get rid of these clusters of live virus.

Q Compared with vaccines for, say, smallpox and typhoid fever, is the polio vaccine as safe?

A I don't think we can say that. There is not enough experience to tell. There is a degree of risk in all vaccines. But the risk of getting severe reactions from diphtheria toxoid or smallpox vaccine is small in relation to the risk of getting these diseases naturally. In polio we don't know the relative risk at this time.

Q Do you feel that, in making the vaccine, the Mahoney strain of type I polio virus should be replaced by a less virulent type?

A Yes, it certainly should be replaced, at just as early a date as possible. It is the most invasive and virulent of the strains, and its elimination would remove most of the danger.

Q After that strain has been eliminated, should the vaccination program be continued?

A Definitely it should be continued, after this elimination and after the end of the polio season. The vaccination program, once we are assured that the vaccine is effective and safe, promises very great benefits.

"WE THINK THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO RISK"

An Interview With Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, of Canada

DR. G. D. W. CAMERON has been Deputy Minister of National Health in the Canadian Government since 1946. He has had an important role in that nation's polio-vaccination program, which has seen 1.2 million shots given to children without incident.

Dr. Cameron returned from service overseas in World War I to study medicine and enter public-health work. He served as president of the Canadian Public Health Association in 1951-52, is a fellow of the American Public Health Association, and has represented Canada at meetings of the World Health Organization.

At OTTAWA

Q Dr. Cameron, do you think that the Salk vaccine effectively prevents paralytic polio?

A Yes, on the basis of the Francis report and on the basis of our experience in Canada.

Q Does the person receiving the shot run a real risk?

A That question has been answered by Dr. Scheele, Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service. Of course, there is always some risk in these procedures. On the basis of our experience here in Canada, however, we think at this time that there is virtually no risk.

Q Is the risk greater than it would be in not taking the shots?

A On the basis of our experience, the risk is greater in not being vaccinated.

Q Is there real proof that the Salk vaccine is effective? There is some criticism in the U. S. that the 1954 tests were inconclusive because a number of cases of polio among vaccinated children were not included in figuring the results—

A The consensus in Canada is that the Francis report is a good report and that the vaccine is valuable. We gave an order for $750,000 worth of vaccine on the basis of the preliminary findings.

Q Why have a number of parents contracted polio after their children were vaccinated?

A I have no comment on that, except to say that we have had no cases of that kind in Canada.

Q Do you think tests can assure absolutely that the vaccine is safe?

A There is no such thing as 100 per cent testing of a biological product.

Q Are safe tests being applied in Canada?

A For practical purposes, our safety testing has been found to be adequate. Sampling and testing are complicated procedures. We believe our tests are adequate. All of our material is tested twice—once at the Connaught Laboratories, in Toronto, where it is produced, and again at the Laboratory of National Hygiene, here in Ottawa.

Q Have you been using these tests from the beginning?

A Yes, we have been applying them from the beginning.

Q Would you say that the polio vaccine is as safe as other vaccines commonly used?

(Continued on next page)

. . . "We have had no trouble in Canada"

A As far as we are concerned, on the basis of our experience, it is just as safe.

Q Is Canada going ahead with its vaccination program on schedule, despite the evidence of trouble in the U. S.

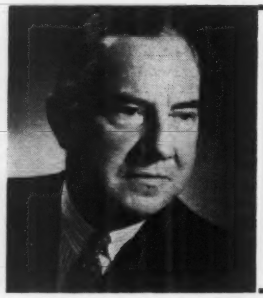
A Yes. We have had no trouble in Canada.

Q Is it true that in Canada no cases of paralysis have been caused by Salk vaccine?

A It is true; we have had no cases of that kind.

"WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO U. S. PROBLEMS"

An Interview With Dr. A. D. Kelly, of Canada



DR. ARTHUR D. KELLY, *general secretary of the Canadian Medical Association, has a keen interest in his country's program for giving Salk vaccine to Canada's youngsters. For years he practiced as a pediatrician in Hamilton, Ont., saw his first polio victim while still a young doctor in training at Hamilton's Hospital for Sick Children.*

Dr. Kelly left private practice to serve in the medical branch of the Canadian Air Force during World War II. He has been on the administrative staff of the Canadian Medical Association since 1946.

At TORONTO

Q Dr. Kelly, how do practicing physicians in Canada feel about the effectiveness of the Salk vaccine?

A Practicing physicians in Canada are, in the present state of their knowledge, convinced that the Salk polio vaccine is an effective agent in preventing paralytic polio. We regard the evidence as too recent to finally prove the issue, and we are aware that there is some variation in the antigenic response of individuals.

Q Polio immunization in Canada is being handled entirely by the national and provincial governments, is it not?

A In the present situation of relative scarcity of vaccine, the available product is being utilized by the official health agencies you have mentioned. Federal authority contributed substantially to the cost of production, and provincial departments of health purchase, allocate and distribute the available vaccine through municipal departments of health.

Q Is this plan working out satisfactorily?

A Yes. We recognize that in the current scarcity the distribution is being handled very satisfactorily to insure that priority is being afforded to the groups at greatest risk.

Q What is the reaction in Canada toward the difficulties the U. S. has been having with its Salk-vaccine program?

A We are sympathetic to the problems which have arisen and feel that the responsible authorities have handled the difficulties with wisdom and courage.

"DR. SALK'S VACCINE IS EFFECTIVE"

An Interview With Dr. Herdis von Magnus, of Denmark

DR. HERDIS VON MAGNUS *is in charge of polio research at the State Serum Institute in Copenhagen, Denmark. She directed the preparation of the vaccine that country is using in its inoculation program. The vaccine is based on the one developed in the U. S. by Dr. Jonas E. Salk.*

Half a million Danish children between the ages of 7 and 12 so far have been vaccinated. No complications and no cases of polio have occurred. Denmark plans to inoculate every person in the nation under 40 by the end of summer. All vaccinations are free—paid for by the Government—and given by private physicians.

Dr. von Magnus served recently on a polio vaccine advisory committeee of the U. S. Public Health Service.

At COPENHAGEN

Q What are your views on the effectiveness of the Salk vaccine, Dr. Magnus?

A I think that Dr. Salk's vaccine is effective against paralytic poliomyelitis. This has been definitely proven by the American field trials in 1954.

Q Does the person inoculated take a calculated risk?

A Any inoculation of a vaccine involves a risk, because all vaccines contain small amounts of foreign protein. But otherwise the present polio vaccine involves no risk.

Q In the U. S. a number of parents developed polio after their children were inoculated; is there any reasonable ex-

. . . "Dr. Salk's vaccine is as safe as smallpox vaccine"

planation for this other than that there may be danger in associating with vaccinated persons?

A If a Salk vaccine is properly prepared, I have no evidence that there is any risk whatever for the family of the vaccinated person.

Q Would you say that Salk serum is as safe as vaccine used in smallpox and typhoid fever?

A In my opinion, Dr. Salk's vaccine is as safe as, or safer than, smallpox and typhoid vaccine. When a large number of children are vaccinated for smallpox, we sometimes get a rare case in which a reaction to the vaccine leads to death from encephalitis.

Q Do you feel that the Mahoney strain of type I polio virus should be replaced by a less virulent type in making the vaccine?

A The Mahoney strain is very virulent indeed and, as a result, has some qualities which, in my opinion, make this strain undesirable for use in a vaccine. However, as you know, most manufacturers in the U. S. have been able to make a perfectly safe vaccine with the Mahoney strain.

Q Why is Denmark modifying the Salk vaccine?

A You can hardly say that Denmark has modified Dr. Salk's vaccine. We have merely substituted a milder strain, the Brunhilde strain, for the Mahoney strain and, otherwise, our vaccine is identical with the vaccine made in the United States.

"VACCINATIONS SHOULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL FALL"

Transcript of Testimony by Dr. Albert B. Sabin, of Ohio

DR. ALBERT B. SABIN *is one of the nation's leading polio researchers. He is working on a vaccine made from live, but "tamed," polio virus, has made tests on human volunteers with one given by mouth. He is on the staff of Children's Hospital Research Foundation in Cincinnati.*

Following are extracts from the transcript of hearings before an Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, J. Percy Priest, chairman, on June 22, 1955:

Dr. Sabin: I would like to address my remarks to the question of safety involved in the production of vaccine.

In the first place, the experience gained this year in 1955 on several million inoculated children has by itself shown . . . that a vaccine which is not harmful can be produced in this country and can be administered without fear of producing paralysis. I think the experience in this country from the point of view of numbers is greater than that in Canada or Denmark or any of the others.

That has been demonstrated. What has gone wrong then? What has happened, and why are we having all of these hearings, and why is there so much uncertainty?

There is all of that because of what has come to be known as the Cutter incident. That has shown that a lot of vaccine, or portions of it, which could pass the tests as were then required, could nevertheless contain enough paralysis-producing virus to produce . . . about 60 cases of paralysis that you wouldn't have expected on the basis of occurrence.

Not only that, but the evidence is now pretty clear that, in those instances, not only with the inoculated children themselves endangered but members of their family were also endangered . . .

The question before us, therefore, is this: What can be done to produce safe vaccine with regularity, and have the new tests . . . given us the assurance that another Cutter incident cannot occur again in the future?

. . . I want to stress here my belief that a great advance has been made, the possibility of immunizing does exist. I know of nothing that would set it back for more years and destroy public confidence more than another Cutter incident.

Therefore, are the new tests sufficiently adequate to prevent such an incident? I must say that perhaps they are. They are certainly better than the previous ones. But can we be sure that they will prevent it? My own answer is that I cannot say for sure that they will . . .

. . . There is now in this vaccine at least one virus, the important one, type 1, Mahoney virus, which is the [most] virulent that is known, and the smallest amount of it that gets away can produce paralysis.

Therefore, it has been the feeling of many people that I know around this table, and other virologists in the country, that the best thing that could be done to insure safety and avoid further trouble is to replace as soon as possible this particular virus—perhaps the other two types are not as virulent—but other viruses which are potentially less dangerous, and which by tests in monkeys show can be administered in 10 million times that amount and yet not produce paralysis in a monkey. . . . Developments in the last two years have given us such strains.

I am fully aware of the excellent humanitarian motives of those people who do not want to wait until the best possible vaccine has been developed to provide this protection to those who may get it now. Their motives are of the best and highest. They want to give protection to as many as possible right away.

But in attempting to do it at a time when we cannot be absolutely certain of avoiding another incident such as has occurred, we may eventually do more harm than good by going too fast. For that reason, the decision that I have reached . . . is that it would be much better as of now for the manufacturing companies to stop further production of the current vaccine with the dangerous strains, and immediately get to work, as some of them are doing already, to see whether or not they can produce . . . equally as good vaccine with the other strains which are now available. That is, so that by the end of the year a good program might be started, all of the inoculations could be given at a time of the year when there is little polio in the community, and the three inoculations which Dr. Salk proposes could be completed before the next season, and the vaccine which is still on trial would get its best possible chance to show what it can do next year.

(Continued on next page)

. . . Dr. Sabin: "Better if vaccinations were postponed"

Ultimately, by avoiding public suspicion and the possibility of another incident, we may do more good in getting more children immunized in the end than we would by trying to do the best we possibly can now.

There is another consideration. We know that, when vaccine will be used this summer, cases of polio will be occurring regardless of the vaccine, and the vaccine will have nothing to do with it. But, in view of what has happened, we are all going to have a terrible time to explain to doctors and to parents that the cases, thousands of cases of polio which we must expect to occur in the next few months, are not due to the vaccine—which takes time to immunize—but that they would have occurred anyway.

So that, whatever we do this summer, we would be in trouble. It would not be the best test for the vaccine.

Because I want to see the best possible conditions for a good thing to receive its trial, and to regain public confidence, I said that I think it would be better in the end if it were postponed until this fall, with vaccine which does not have the potential dangers which we cannot predict now.

. . . We will always have that potential danger as long as these dangerous strains are contained in the vaccine.

If we can substitute for that, strains which, even if a little bit is left behind, will not constitute such a danger, I feel we will be on much safer ground.

"IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF WE STOPPED"

Transcript of Testimony by Dr. Thomas M. Rivers, of New York

DR. THOMAS M. RIVERS *is vice president of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and Chairman of the vaccine committee of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. He is the discoverer of the organisms causing several diseases and of vaccines to counteract them.*

Following are extracts from the transcript of hearings before the Priest Subcommittee on June 22, 1955:

Dr. Rivers: Dr. Sabin has admitted that a safe vaccine can be made. Right after that he suggests that we stop making a safe vaccine and make a safer one.

I should like to differ with him, and I should like to make a plea at this time that we do not stop making the safe vaccine.

I do not know what "safer" is than safe. He himself admitted that it was a safe vaccine. For that reason I have no argument with him about the matter.

I would suggest that we continue to make a safe vaccine and not stop. I think it would be tragic if we stopped . . . I could not agree with Dr. Enders and Dr. Sabin. No vaccine has ever had the testing that this one had before it was used last summer, in 1954. I cannot imagine doing more than was done at that time. . . .

Certainly with the new regulations that are proposed, I think it would be tragic if we stopped the program now. My answer to you, sir, [Representative Priest], is that I do not agree with Dr. Sabin.

"WE SHOULD NOT WAIT"

Transcript of Testimony by Dr. Joseph E. Smadel, of Washington, D.C.

DR. JOSEPH E. SMADEL *is scientific director of the department of virus diseases at the Army's Walter Reed Medical Center. An authority on vaccines, he is a member of the committee set up by the U.S. Public Health Service to advise on problems connected with the Salk vaccine.*

Following are extracts from the transcript of hearings before the Priest Subcommittee on June 22, 1955:

Dr. Smadel: . . . There are three kinds of poliomyelitis virus. Each of these produces a clinical disease which is the same as the others.

But although the three viruses are related—distinctly related as cousins—what does it mean when one begins to make a vaccine? It means that one has to make three different vaccines.

The problem is three times as difficult as it is in another disease of which there is only one immunological type of virus.

° ° °

One of the most difficult decisions in this kind of problem is: When do you stop doing research and start using the material that you have already produced?

It is always possible to improve the material that you made yesterday, and the things that have been suggested today no doubt will improve the vaccine, and I expect that they will be put into effect.

I would like to leave with the Committee, though, the idea that no one at this table can predict when any of these things can be put into effect. We can hope, but each time one changes the procedure, each time one increases the amount of material that is manufactured, then one runs into new difficulties that one cannot foresee at this time.

So one is left, then, with the ultimate decision, "Shall we use what we have now, or shall we wait an indefinite period—three months, six months, five years—until we have something which we think is perfect at that time, and then use it?"

In my opinion, we should not wait.

SMOKE CLEARS, PERON STANDS—BUT HE IS NOT ALONE

Army Saved the Dictator, Now It Can Dictate to Him

Juan D. Perón came out on top this time—but his days as a dictator may be numbered.

Argentina's strong man has trouble on all sides. Revolt exposed real weakness in his following. Now the Army is moving in on him.

Here, from the scene, is the full story.

This uncensored dispatch by a member of the Board of Editors of *U. S. News & World Report* was flown out of Buenos Aires to another country, then cabled to the U. S.

BUENOS AIRES

Carpenters and plasterers are rebuilding the Government offices wrecked by Argentina's flash revolution—but it is a question whether President Juan D. Perón will ever be able to rebuild his total authority over this big country.

Outwardly, quiet has been restored in Buenos Aires. The bomb craters in the Plaza de Mayo have been filled. The dead have been buried. Ships again are moving through the busy port, and international air travel has been restored.

But it is an uneasy quiet. The revolution has brought to light a wide crack in the base on which Perón built his dictatorship through the past nine years. A struggle for influence is under way now. Its outcome will decide whether Perón will go on running Argentina in his own way, and risk a worse revolution—or whether he will be forced to share his power, and perhaps eventually abdicate.

On one side stands the Argentine Army. On the opposing side are three big groups—the General Confederation of Labor with 6 million members, the Perónist party, and the federal police.

Differences between the two sides have existed for years, but Perón has managed to keep them under control by wheedling, purging and browbeating these elements into standing behind him.

The Army's role. When the revolution exploded and forced these groups to stand up and be counted, however, all were found wanting—except the Army. It was the Army, under War Minister General Franklin Lucero, that saved Perón's bacon. And now the Army wants its reward.

As some people here see it, the Army does not want to run the Government, but does want a voice in it.

Talking with high-ranking Army officers you get the idea that the Army will go back on Perón before long unless he listens to its leaders. Many officers are practicing Catholics, and they want Perón to veer toward the middle of the road and make peace with the Church.

There are signs that Perón is listening to Army leaders. His newspaper mouthpiece, *Democracia*, has stopped printing its daily, page 1 attacks against the priests and the Catholic Church. Perón now says mildly that he wants the people themselves to decide at the polls whether the Church is to retain its official status.

Perón is still strong with millions who feel he has helped them by his social-security and labor laws. One workingman told *U. S. News & World Report:* "I came here from Italy as a boy 54 years ago. I worked from sunup to sundown six or seven days a week. Under Perón, I work 40 hours a week."

—Wide World

PERON AND LUCERO
. . . is the dictator listening?

Uncertainty widespread. It is becoming clear, however, that Perón's propaganda campaign against the Church and his excommunication by the Vatican has cost him some of his support. Dissatisfaction may reach even into the ranks of labor, the federal police and the Perónist party.

Uncertainty, now, is slowing down the country more than ever. Many people are afraid to go out on the streets at night, although there are no disorders. Business is off. The peso is weak. Investors are holding back until they see how things work out.

The uncertainty adds to difficulties of Argentineans, already hard hit by inflation and plagued by scarcities as a result of Perón's controlled economy, deficit spending and forced industrialization.

This productive country, with more than 19 million people, is by no means broke. But it is not in good shape.

The peso, worth 25 cents when Perón took over, now is worth about 3 cents on the black market. Prices are rising about 17 per cent every year, and are 6½ times what they were in 1943.

Run-down railroads that Perón took over from British, French and Belgian owners are still run-down. The entire State rail system is running a deficit of 1 billion pesos a year.

Another of Perón's schemes, the Government Institute for Trade Promotion, which controls most exports and about 25 per cent of the country's imports, is losing 2 billion pesos annually. The big merchant fleet that Perón built up is losing money. So is the Government airline.

These deficits are financed mostly by

[continued]

PERON STANDS—BUT NOT ALONE

—Foto Thorlichen

PERON'S SPECIALTY: SHOWMANSHIP
Also: cajoling, purging and browbeating

borrowing from the Federal Treasury, and that boosts inflation. Much of the 25 per cent social security tax on payrolls, to which both employers and workers contribute, goes to pay general expenses of the Government.

Exports of meat and other farm products that earn dollars and sterling for Argentina are down, too, because of the rapid population increase and backward farming methods.

With foreign exchange being channeled into purchase of industrial equipment and other items abroad, imports of most other items are cut down or prohibited. Latest-model U. S. automobiles are so rare that, when one is parked downtown, a curious crowd immediately gathers to size it up. An American car, when available, costs the equivalent of about $9,000. This country, one-third the size of the U. S., has only 329,000 automobiles—less than it had in 1930.

Buenos Aires is bursting at the seams because of a great influx of newcomers—foreigners and rural people. Greater Buenos Aires, with 5 million population, ranks second only to New York in the Western Hemisphere. It boasts one of the world's cleanest subway systems. But you see long queues of people waiting to take buses and little 50-year-old trolleys.

You find backward methods of farming in the monotonously flat, rich Pampas region that fans out 400 miles from Buenos Aires. Small, inferior breeds of corn are raised. Fields are choked with weeds. There are some tractors, but most of the machinery is horse-drawn. The Government does not permit the import of enough farm machinery to meet Argentina's needs.

Picture not all dark. New factories are making steel products, chemicals, telephone equipment, motorcycles, electric motors, household appliances, lubricants, drugs and antibiotics.

New industries building in Argentina include the Mercedes-Benz and the Kaiser auto factories. Four European-backed factories are to make a total of 13,000 tractors annually. One U. S. company is expanding its mining of tungsten and sulphur, and another is to engage in extensive oil exploration if the Argentine Congress clears a contract which it has been sitting on since early May.

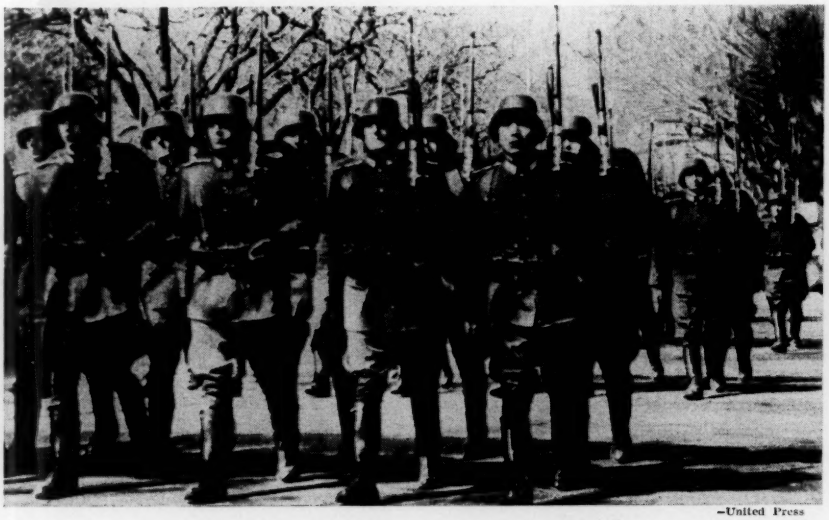
The attitude you find here is not one of hopelessness, but of uncertainty. People feel that the situation will not be stabilized, until the struggle for political power is settled one way or another.

It was an Army coup in 1943, with Perón's participation, that started him on the way to the Presidency. For years, the Army looked on Perón as its own. But his playing up to organized labor and his attacks on wealthy Argentineans soured many officers. The adulation and power given to his late wife, Evita, embittered more.

Perón has tried, from time to time, to get rid of officers of doubtful loyalty. But he did not get them all out—and others have turned on him.

Now a new and deep-seated cause of resentment is found in his propaganda attacks on the priests and the Catholic Church, the imprisonment of priests, the prohibition of religious processions and the deportation of high-ranking clerics, which led to Perón's excommunication by the Vatican.

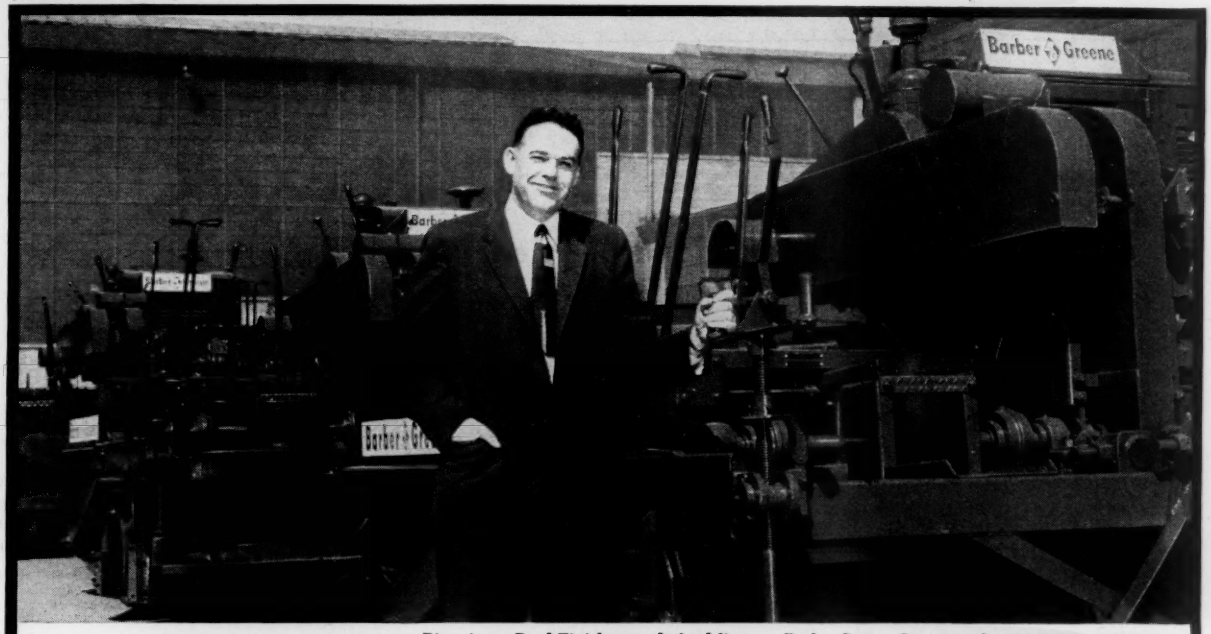
The Army, for years, has looked upon the labor confederation and the federal police—Perón's other main supporters—as rivals. It was the Army that came through this time to save the dictator in a pinch. But it may not do so again, unless Perón changes his ways.



—United Press

THE ARMY MOVED IN TO SAVE PERON
. . . and the Army could change its mind

(Advertisement)



Bituminous Road Finishers ready for delivery at Barber-Greene Company plant in Aurora, Illinois.

"Our credit union helps make this a better product"

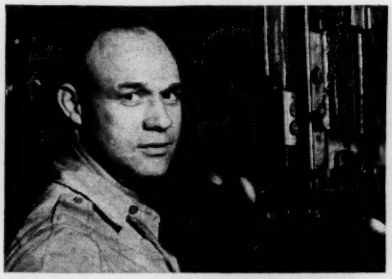
Says Mr. H. A. BARBER, President of Barber-Greene Company, manufacturer of road-building machines and material-handling equipment. "Our employees have in their credit union a way to save money regularly and a place to turn for sympathetic financial help. I feel certain that the contribution this has made to the self-sufficiency and well-being of our people is reflected favorably in the quality of Barber-Greene products."

A credit union is simply a group of people who run their own borrowing and saving system under state or federal supervision. In this proven 100-year-old plan, members save money together to provide capital to lend each other for emergencies and useful purposes. Loans are made at low cost and savings pay good returns. *It is democracy in action—people working things out together in the American tradition.*

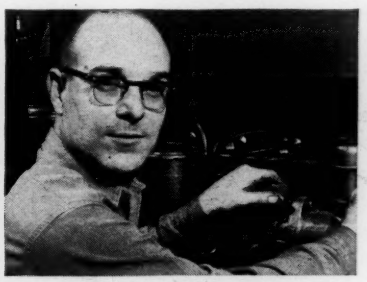
In America today, nearly 20,000 credit unions serve some 10,000,000 people. With a credit union to help workers solve personal money problems, wage garnishments and requests for advances practically disappear. Efficiency rises, unhampered by financial anxiety.

Credit unions now operate in most of America's best-known companies. Their promotion of thrift and sound financial habits has won their hearty endorsement by management, labor, government and church.

Clip and mail the coupon below for full information on the benefits a credit union can bring your company and your people.



"SAVING A LITTLE EACH PAYDAY the way we do in our credit union," says Willis French, "is painless, and the money adds up fast—especially with the good returns we get." Barber-Greene credit union has 840 members and assets over a quarter of a million dollars.



"HARD LUCK had me swamped in money troubles before I worked at Barber-Greene," says Charles Benson. "I took my problem to the credit union when I came here. Their help got me back on my feet. It's sure wonderful to belong to a credit union."

CLIP AND MAIL

Credit Union, Dept. 302
Madison 1, Wisconsin

Please send me, without cost, complete information on organizing a credit union.

Name_____

Address_____

Company Name_____

If War Comes . . .

WHAT BUSINESS CAN EXPECT

Martial Law—Rationing—Price, Material Controls

Businessmen who worry about "standby control" for the next war are in for a shock.

"Control" isn't the word for what is now planned.

If bombs drop on U. S. cities, a dictatorship will take over.

Martial law, nation-wide, will be invoked. Government will give orders, force people and businesses to obey. Nothing like it ever has been seen in U. S.

A military dictatorship, swift and complete, will take hold at the very moment of any big atomic attack on American cities.

This is the word from top official sources in Washington following "Operation Alert," the civil-defense exercise just ended.

The old idea of "standby controls," which has been worrying some businessmen, no longer has any place in official planning.

Instead, the President will simply take control—of businesses, banks, goods, prices, wages, just about everything—and worry about legal authority later.

Martial law will be clamped on the entire country. This will be the President's first official act after bombs start falling.

With that act, the President will assume almost unlimited war powers. Dictatorship from Washington, or from the President's nearby hideaway, will be backed by military forces.

At once, the nation will go on a war footing.

Rules already written. Businesses will be blanketed by regulations, already written and ready for issue. Raw materials will be rationed. Tools, trucks, supplies will be subject to seizure.

Banks will be given orders by Government. Money will be rationed. Depositors, if necessary, will be limited in how much they can draw out of the bank.

A moratorium, very probably will be ordered on debts, contracts, legal responsibilities of various sorts. This order will remain in effect until more normal conditions are restored.

Workers will be ordered not to strike, or change jobs without permission.

Prices and wages will be frozen. Rents will be controlled.

Goods will be rationed. Censorship will be imposed at once. Credit will be controlled.

Trains, trucking lines, airlines and ships will be permitted to carry only priority passengers or freight.

Factories will be told what to produce. Industry will be ordered to expand some facilities, abandon others. Electric power will be shifted from nonessential uses.

Farmers, under martial law, may find their livestock, land and crops commandeered for military use. Doctors and hospitals might have to give up medical supplies, and take orders from Government.

In bombed-out areas, martial law will bring strict discipline, enforced at gunpoint by whatever armed forces are available. The Federal Civil Defense Act will come into full effect, empowering authorities to requisition property, including private homes and automobiles. In these areas, people will be subject to draft for whatever labor is needed.

Suspension of rights. Individual rights and privileges will disappear for the time being. Habeas corpus, which protects a citizen against imprisonment without due process of law, will be suspended. So will freedom of speech. Spreading rumors might get a person into trouble.

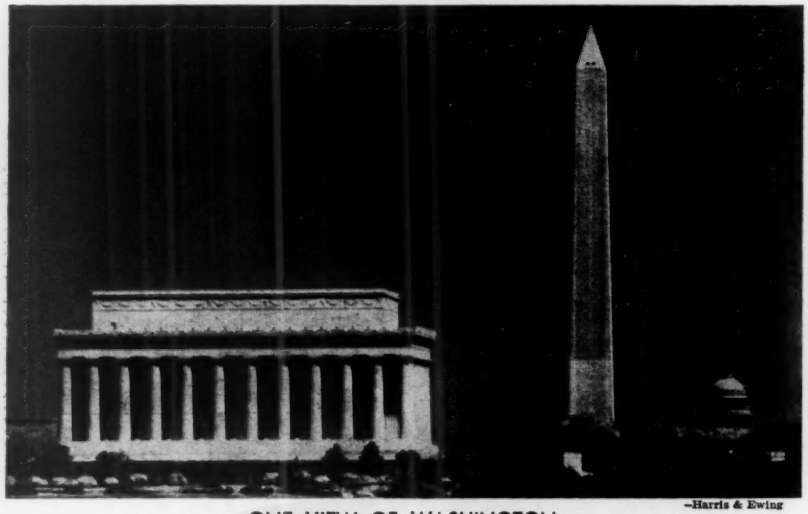
Outside of disaster areas, the plan is to apply martial law more subtly. Civilian agencies, rather than military authorities, will carry out the usual war controls, including rationing, restrictions on travel, draft of manpower and anti-hoarding orders.

Under national martial law, so the thinking goes, there will be no time for haggling over federal authority, no time for people or businesses to balk at doing what they are told.

Once the dust begins to clear, Congress will be asked to ratify the emergency measures ordered by the President.

No President of the past has invoked the sweeping authority now planned for an atomic emergency. Abraham Lincoln imposed martial law during the Civil War, but only on certain sections of the country.

Says one defense official: "Lincoln was a pioneer in use of the President's extraordinary powers. But the first President who has to cope with an atomic offensive will make Lincoln look like a piker."

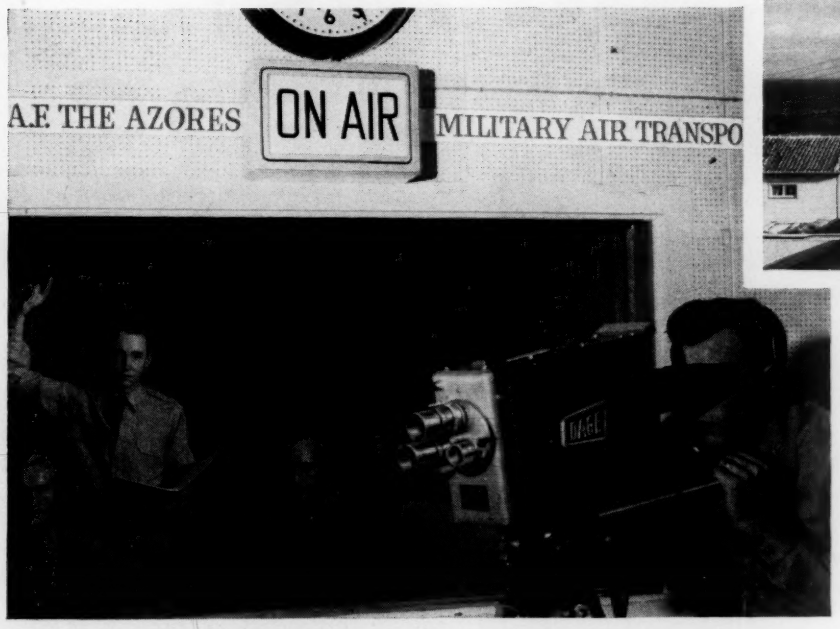


—Harris & Ewing

ONE VIEW OF WASHINGTON
Also in the picture: almost unlimited war powers

THOMPSON BRINGS TV TO GI'S IN MID-OCEAN

First complete "Packaged Station" telecasts big-time programs to servicemen in the Azores



Up goes the TV antenna . . . and GI's stationed in the Azores are all set to watch programs from their own island "packaged station", as complete as your own local station!

GI's put a local TV show on the air from studios of the Azores station. Cost of station installation was about one-fifth that of the usual broadcasting station equipment—so low that the airmen paid for it themselves through their own welfare funds. Design and construction were so simple that it was in full operation less than 2 weeks after arrival in the Azores.

Eight Hundred Miles off the coast of Portugal, the Dage Television Division of Thompson Products has built a *complete* local TV station . . . supplying everything but the actors and commercials!

The development of this "packaged unit" by Thompson-Dage electronic engineers has made it possible for servicemen stationed in remote places to enjoy popular network programs. Live local programs also originate from this unit. It includes TV cameras, projectors, transmitters, antennae, microphones, studio monitors, as well as complete lighting, testing and servicing equipment . . . *the works.*

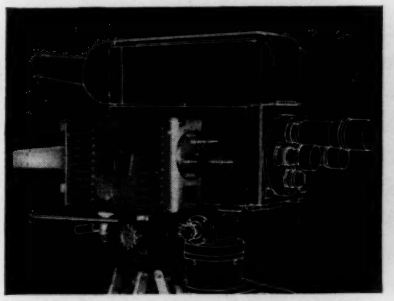
Final training of operating personnel under Thompson supervision is included in this package, now being duplicated at other American military outposts. All personnel and equipment used in the Azores TV station were flown 3,250 miles to the building site where Thompson-Dage engineers supervised the installation.

The field of television electronics is but one of many where Thompson Products engineering and manufacturing skills and facilities are developing amazing new products and improving old ones for such widely-diversified industries as automotive, aviation, light metals, metallurgy, home appliances and many others that have learned you can *count on Thompson!* Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17, Ohio.

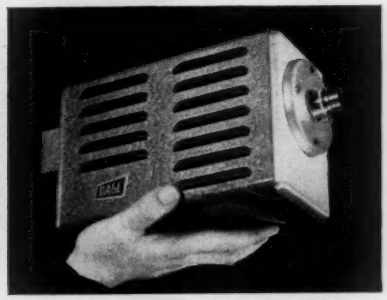
You can count on

Thompson Products

MANUFACTURERS OF AUTOMOTIVE, AIRCRAFT, INDUSTRIAL AND ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS. FACTORIES IN SIXTEEN CITIES.



The Heart of the Thompson-Dage Packaged TV Station is this very small Dage TV Camera. It weighs about one-third as much as the average commercial TV camera, and requires about one-third the space. A conventional camera is traced behind the Dage unit for size comparison. The Dage TV Camera is naturally much easier to handle, allowing greater flexibility to get "good shots" without a costly, cumbersome carriage.



Another Thompson-Dage development is this "pint-sized" TV Camera, weighing just 7¾ lbs. It is the smallest, self-contained television camera and operates on a closed circuit. It has unlimited uses in industry . . . to check dangerous operations, guard plant gates and instruct trainees. In stores it helps spot shoplifters, in homes it keeps an eye on nursery or sickroom, in hospitals it shows operation "close-up" to medical students.

The Story of
IKE and his 4 BROTHERS

This is the first authorized story of the Eisenhower family. The President and his four living brothers reconstruct here the history of a family whose roots in the U. S. date back to the early eighteenth century.

Much of the story is told in the words of the Eisenhower brothers themselves. To get it, Bela Kornitzer traveled to the Eisenhower home in Abilene, Kans.; visited the brothers and their families in Tacoma, Wash., Kansas City, Mo., Junction City, Kans., La Grange, Ill., and State College, Pa.

The author also was granted an unprecedented interview in the White House, where the President talked of his family and his boyhood.

The President's memories are of a typical Midwestern family in the early part of this century. From a big white frame house in one small town came six brothers, each of whom would make his mark in a different field.

Besides the Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, who became President of the United States, a single generation of this family produced a prominent banker, a successful lawyer, a college president, an electrical engineer and a pharmacist.

No ordinary biography, this is the study of a family and an era. In large part, it is the success story of David and Ida Eisenhower, typical American parents whose boys had more than typical contributions to make.

—Courtesy of Dr. Milton Eisenhower

The President's parents pose for wedding picture, Sept. 23, 1885

Bela Kornitzer was born in Hungary, fled that land when the Communists took it over. He was granted U. S. citizenship by Congress in 1953.

Mr. Kornitzer is well known for his historical biographies, and is also an accomplished artist.

An authentic, revealing and candid family portrait by BELA KORNITZER

© Phillipe Halsman

Seated: Arthur, Dwight, Milton
Standing: Edgar, Earl

(The book, "The Great American Heritage, the Story of the Five Eisenhower Brothers," by Bela Kornitzer, is being published by Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, Inc., New York. Copyright on the book is held by the publishers. Any permission to reprint from the book, including the portions printed here, must be obtained from Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, Inc.)

Extracts from the book follow:

Foreword—HOW THIS BOOK CAME ABOUT

THIS BOOK WAS CONCEIVED out of a deep conviction that the real wealth of the United States is spiritual, more than material, and that the strength of this country stems from the nation's democratic heritage, which is inculcated in the lives of its citizens in their youth and in their homes. Families are nations in miniature and it is within the countless homes of decent, hard-working families that one must look for the glory of America. Within those homes one will find the forces of deep religious principle at work, the spirit of thrift and enterprise, respect for opportunity and for individual accomplishment.

The book itself is the story of a single family, the Eisenhower family. This family, with its five living brothers, illustrates how Americans born in relative poverty may rise in an atmosphere of freedom to whatever success their talents permit: this family is an example of the greatness of the American heritage.

* * *

Here is an average American family: David and Ida Eisenhower and their six sons. An historian concerned with the Eisenhowers of Abilene might easily be tempted to focus his attention on the brightest star of the clan: the President of the United States.

* * *

This book, on the other hand, is an inquiry into the great American heritage of the Eisenhowers. Therefore I have focused my attention on the entire family: David, the hard-working engineer who worked many years in a Kansas creamery; Ida, his devoutly religious, gentle wife; and their rugged individualist sons, Arthur, Edgar, Dwight, Roy, Earl and Milton. Instead of repeating the often told legend of Dwight D. Eisenhower, I propose to take the reader to the wellspring of that legend, to South Fourth Street, in Abilene, Kansas. There, in a modest white clapboard house, the great American heritage was deeply rooted and it provided plenty of faith, strength and determination to six poor youngsters to further and materialize their ambitions.

In these interviews with the five Eisenhowers it soon became apparent that nothing was more alien to their home life than materialistic thinking. They were poor but they didn't know it, commented Dwight recently on the family's early financial status. This appraisal of monetary values was strongly indoctrinated in the thinking of the boys and has been echoed by Dwight in many of his public utterances.

The actual gathering of material for this book began in 1949, when I was in Kansas City, Missouri, visiting President Harry S. Truman's family to obtain from them the stories of Truman and his father which were contained in *American Fathers and Sons*. At that time I had my first talk with the eldest of the Eisenhower brothers, Arthur, the banker. Arthur was the first of the brothers to see merit in the idea, and gave me an introduction to his brother Dwight.

Most of the book, however, was compiled after 1952, and involved many thousands of miles of travel to and from Abilene, Kansas, scene of the Eisenhowers' boyhood adventures, to Tacoma, Washington, to see Edgar, the lawyer, the second son of David and Ida Eisenhower. Dr. Milton Eisenhower, president of Pennsylvania State University, was interviewed in State College, in Washington, and in New York. Earl Eisenhower, engineer and newspaper executive, was interviewed first at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, and then at his homes in Charleroi, Pennsylvania, and La Grange, Illinois.

Many spools of tape were recorded of conversations on

(Copyright 1955 by Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, Inc.)

. . . "After he became President of the United States, brother Dwight, personally, wrote out a chart of eight generations of the family"

many subjects. The brothers also were kind enough to show and lend me their photograph albums. Many letters passed between us in 1953 and 1954, as the book developed.

° ° °

In the interviews subjects were discussed at random. Patiently, painstakingly, the brothers gave the answers to the multitude of questions fired at them in the privacy of their homes and sometimes in the buzzing atmosphere of their offices. Usually one brother did not know what the others had said in response to the questions. The material has been arranged in logical sequence, but the words themselves have not been altered.

° ° °

I wish the reader could share the experience of hearing the brothers' voices. For the most descriptive human analysis or biographical sketch cannot bring to life the sound of voices telling of tragedy, or the boisterous laughter that accompanied reminiscence of boyhood pranks. The mood, the environment and the setting in which each interview took place are essential in the composition of these portrayals.

As a result of the interviews, the findings about David and Ida Eisenhower, the parents of the five Eisenhower brothers, were a revelation to the brothers themselves. They also discovered a few things about each other they never knew before. Edgar, after reading the first script about his father, confessed:

"I was amazed at the personality that developed out of your story. When I got my brothers' statements of what they thought of Dad, I had an entirely different picture of him than I had been carrying all my life." *

Apparently, as a result of their innate modesty, they had not analyzed the mighty moral forces handed down by their parents, and were little conscious of their own abilities and accomplishments.

° ° °

Chapter 1

THE ANCESTRY OF AMERICANS

THE FIVE LIVING BROTHERS in today's Eisenhower family stand as self-made men of varying success, each man upright on his own two feet—like the rest of their countrymen. In their common inheritance of a nation's genius, the first influence which shaped the character of the Eisenhower brothers was no membership in a long line of distinguished ancestry any more than it was a heritage of material riches.

"There are many David and Ida Eisenhowers in this great country of ours," says Edgar.

It was not until after he became President of the United States that brother Dwight, personally, wrote out a chart of eight generations of the family who have lived on the North American continent. In the center of this chart the President placed the wedding picture of his father and mother. The lineage, insofar as the President chooses to express it, begins in America, even though when he drafted his document he was quite aware of prior generations of Eisenhowers in Europe. The Eisenhowers who settled in America—emigrants in search of greater liberty than they found in the Old World—were the founders of the American family.

The first dates which the President set down on his chart were 1741, for the arrival of the first Eisenhower in America, and "about 1729" for the first arrival of a member of his mother's family, the Stovers. The President had six copies of his chart made up, one for himself and each of his brothers, and one for Mrs. Edna Eisenhower, the widow of his brother Roy.

At the top of his family chart, the President wrote the following:

"Progenitors of both David J. and Ida Elizabeth Eisenhower landed in America just before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Eisenhower name was originally spelled 'Eisenhauer,' and the Stover name 'Stoever.' The Eisenhowers settled in Pennsylvania and the Stovers in Virginia.

"David J. Eisenhower went to Kansas in 1878 with his father, grandfather, and other members of the family, and Ida Elizabeth Stover went to Kansas to join her brother about the year 1883. They met at Lane University, Lecompton, Kansas, a school which has since disappeared."

Then the President set down the bare genealogical record of his family beginning with the first Eisenhower and first Stover generation in the colonies, and ending with the three living generations of Eisenhowers. [The President's chart appears on page 50.]

The spiritual heritage which the first four generations of American Eisenhowers left to those now living came to them in their early years only through the example set by members of the family, and not by any talk in the home about ancestry or lineage. All of the boys from their earliest years knew Uncle Chris and Aunt Amanda Musser, besides their own mother and father. Only the older boys knew well their grandfather, Jacob, a River Brethren preacher and farmer.

When Milton Eisenhower was questioned about the influence of his ancestors on the brothers' boyhood education, he said: "To tell the truth we didn't know much about our ancestors. My knowledge of the Eisenhower family's settling in this country in 1741 and of my mother's family, the Stovers, settling in Pennsylvania and then in Virginia much earlier than that—this knowledge is something that I have acquired—oh, in the last ten to fifteen years."

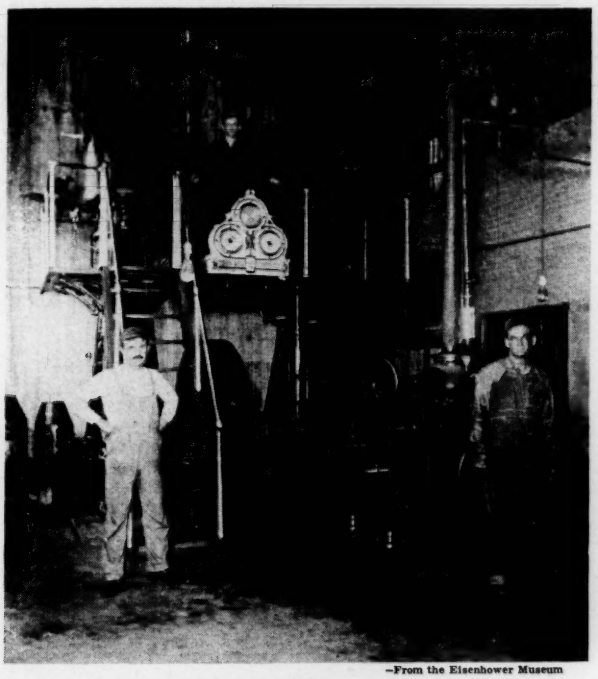
Earl said: "I knew nothing about my ancestors until I was old enough to read myself; and Dwight and Milton looked them up. Dad rarely talked about his relations. Mother did little more. We were too busy doing many other things, so we didn't bother with ancestors."

* This comment by Mr. Edgar Eisenhower came as a result of his having read two magazine articles written by the author about David and Ida Eisenhower.

. . . Milton: "Evidently the family . . . was deeply religious, hard-working, frugal"

They were indeed too busy. Six boys growing up in a small white house in Abilene, Kansas, at the turn of the century, would hardly be interested in ancient family lore far beyond their sight and their world unless it were called sharply to their attention. It never was. But the boys had ancestors, nevertheless, like everyone else.

"In general," says Milton, "the story of the two families is just this: Hans Nicol Eisenhower came to this country in 1741 on the ship *Europa,* accompanied by a brother and a son. The direct descendants of Hans Nicol were Peter, Frederick, Frederick Jacob, David Jacob, and then the present generation of brothers and their children. The Stovers came



—From the Eisenhower Museum

The President's father (left) as a stationary engineer in the Belle Springs Creamery, Abilene, Kansas

to Pennsylvania earlier. They migrated down the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania to what is now Mt. Sidney, Virginia, apparently in 1730."

Both Eisenhower and Stover families in America, then, antedated their country's revolutionary war and the establishment of the American republic. The Eisenhowers settled in Lancaster County, a county that had attracted several groups of Protestant sects as they emigrated to this country. And here was a center of Mennonites, an intensely religious group whose concern was never with the temporal world but only with the world of God and man's conscience. An offshoot of the sect was the group known as the River Brethren, so named because they settled along the Susquehanna River. To this group the elder Eisenhowers belonged.

"The family," says Milton, "during my great-grandfather Frederick's time, I think, had moved from Lebanon County to Dauphin County in Pennsylvania. This was a move of only fifty miles or so. (Originally that whole area was part of Lancaster County. Later the large Lancaster area was divided into three counties and the Eisenhowers ended up at the time of the division in Lebanon, later moving, as I say, to Dauphin.) So far as I know, those were the two locations of the family from 1741 to 1878 when Grandfather and Grandmother and their children, including my father, moved to Dickinson County, Kansas.

"Both Dad and Grandfather Jacob Eisenhower were born at Elizabethville, Pennsylvania, a delightful rural community of some 1500 persons in Dauphin County, north of Harrisburg. The house which Grandfather built there still stands. It is a lovely brick home of some spaciousness. The living room was built large enough not only for family use but for meetings of the River Brethren on Sundays.

"The Eisenhowers had been farmers, though with collateral vocations such as weaving. [As a matter of fact, Milton's great-grandfather Frederick was a weaver, and in the Eisenhower home in Abilene, now a public memorial, a couch in the living room wears a bright hand-woven coverlet, the product of Frederick's loom in Pennsylvania, and woven from wool from his own sheep.]

"I have talked to folks in Elizabethville who knew the Eisenhowers well," says Milton. "Evidently the family when it was there was deeply religious, hard-working, frugal, and fairly well-to-do by the standards then existing."

Westward Migration in 1870's

In the 1870's the River Brethren in Pennsylvania and neighboring states started to think of a westward migration. The West, with its rolling farmlands, was being opened up by the railroads. And a colony moved out to Dickinson County, Kansas, an area of rich farmlands in the valley of the Smoky Hill River. In the vanguard of the group was Grandfather Jacob, fifty-two, who was to farm prosperously in Dickinson County as he had in Dauphin County. With him went his aged father, Frederick, the weaver, and his wife and four children: Amanda, the fifteen-year-old David, Abraham and Ira. It was a large group—in the space of a few years over three hundred River Brethren migrated from the East to colonize in Dickinson County. Part of them settled north of Smoky Hill River; the others settled in farms south of the river. It was in the southern area that the Eisenhowers settled.

As for the Stovers, their background was somewhat similar to the Eisenhowers. They too had migrated to this country, at least a decade earlier than the Eisenhowers. Two Stover brothers had come—one to settle in Pennsylvania, the other to push down the Shenandoah Valley to Virginia.

The only memory of David Eisenhower's father, the farmer-preacher who took his children to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1878 was given to me by his grandson, Edgar:

"When I was a boy we lived on South Second Street in Abilene, and Granddad lived right across the alley," Edgar said. "Granddad was a German. He wore an under-beard with his lips shaved clean, and talked with a broken Pennsylvania Dutch brogue. He had a horse and buggy, and he used to let me ride this horse or drive him in the buggy. I remember

(Continued on page 51)

Progenitors of both David J. and Ida Elizabeth Eisenhower landed in America just before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Eisenhower name was originally spelled "Eisenhauer" and the Stover name "Stoever". The Eisenhowers settled in Pennsylvania, and the Stovers in Virginia.

David J. Eisenhower went to Kansas in 1878 with his father, grandfather and other members of the family, and Ida Elizabeth Stover went to Kansas to join her brother about the year 1883. They met at Lane University in Lecompton, Kansas, a school which has since disappeared.

David J. Eisenhower (5)
Sept. 23, 1863—Mar. 10, 1942

Ida Elizabeth Stover (5)
Mt. Sidney, Va.
May 1, 1862—Sept. 11, 1946

Mr. and Mrs. David J. Eisenhower on their Wedding Day September 23, 1885

(1) Hans Nicol Eisenhower and his son (First Generation in America)
John Peter Eisenhower arrived in America in 1741 aboard the "Europa" (2)

Frederick Eisenhower (3)
1794-1884

Jacob Frederick Eisenhower (4)
Sept. 19, 1826—May 20, 1906
Rebecca Matter
Mar. 18, 1825—June 22, 1890

Arthur B. Eisenhower (Banker) (6)
Nov. 11, 1886—
Louise Sondra Grieb
Jan. 7, 1897—
Married Sept. 3, 1926

Katherine Eisenhower (7)
July 2, 1914—
Berton Roueché
Apr. 16, 1910—
Married Oct. 28, 1936

Arthur Bradford Roueché
Nov. 16, 1942— (8)

Edgar N. Eisenhower (Lawyer) (6)
Jan. 19, 1889—
Louise Alexander
Oct. 1, 1893—July 1946
Married Oct. 1, 1911

Jack Eisenhower (7)
May 30, 1916—
Muriel Menadue
Married Feb. 13, 1946

Janis Eisenhower
April 5, 1922—
William O. Causin
July 4, 1922—
Married Aug. 31, 1946

William Edgar Causin (8)
Jan. 5, 1948—
Jean Nadine Causin
May 1, 1950—

Dwight D. Eisenhower (6)
(President of the United States)
Oct. 14, 1890—
Mamie Geneva Doud
Nov. 14, 1896—
Married July 1, 1916

Dwight Doud Eisenhower
Sept. 24, 1917—
Jan. 2, 1921

John Sheldon Doud Eisenhower
Aug. 3, 1922— (7)
Barbara Jean Thompson
June 15, 1926—
Married June 10, 1947

Dwight David Eisenhower, II
Mar. 31, 1948— (8)
Barbara Anne Eisenhower
May 30, 1949—
Susan Elaine Eisenhower
Dec. 31, 1951—

The original Stover arrived in America about 1729. He was followed by his son (1) (2)
Daniel Stover and grandson
Daniel Stover (3)

Simon P. Stover (4)
Sept. 28, 1822—
Dec. 11, 1873
Elizabeth Ida Link
Mt. Sidney, Va.
Nov. 19, 1822—
Mar. 28, 1867

Roy J. Eisenhower (Pharmacist) (6)
Aug. 9, 1892—June 17, 1942
Edna Alice Shade
Sept. 13, 1891—
Married Nov. 18, 1917

Patricia Eisenhower (7)
July 17, 1918—
Thomas B. Fegan
June 29, 1916—
Married Feb. 14, 1941

Thomas B. Fegan, Jr.
Dec. 8, 1941—
Dec. 25, 1943

Robert Roy Fegan (8)
July 2, 1945—
Thomas Michael Fegan
Feb. 9, 1949—

Roy Jack Eisenhower
Apr. 20, 1921—
Apr. 25, 1921

Peggy Jane Eisenhower (7)
Apr. 12, 1923—
Oliver J. Bryan
Sept. 28, 1921—
Married July 25, 1943

Dinah Jane Bryan (8)
Aug. 13, 1949—
David Patrick Bryan
Oct. 13, 1951—

Lloyd Edgar Eisenhower (7)
Mar. 21, 1925—
Doris Jean Hootman
Married Apr. 11, 1953

Paul A. Eisenhower
May 12, 1894—Mar. 16, 1895

Earl D. Eisenhower (6)
(Electrical Engineer)
Feb. 1, 1898—
Kathryn McIntyre Snyder
Aug. 15, 1909—
Married Apr. 29, 1933

Kathryn S. Eisenhower (7)
Sept. 20, 1934—
Earl D. Eisenhower, Jr.
Sept. 6, 1936—

Milton S. Eisenhower (6)
(College President)
Sept. 15, 1899—
Helen E. Eakin
Aug. 14, 1904—
Married Oct. 12, 1927

Milton S. Eisenhower, Jr. (7)
Dec. 11, 1930—
Ruth E. Eisenhower
July 21, 1938—

Courtesy of Mrs. Roy Eisenhower

Family chart, designed by Dwight D. Eisenhower after he became President.

. . . "David and Ida Eisenhower were pioneers, although they blazed no trails in a covered wagon"

once a couple of my brothers hitched up our own horse and buggy to go down and get Dad at the creamery and I got on Granddad's horse. I was going to race them down there. Well, this horse was smarter than I was, because when we got to a certain corner where I was supposed to turn right, the horse turned left, and I slipped over his side and got an awful beating from his hoofs before I finally got back home.

"My granddad, later on, came to live with us on South Fourth Street, where he finally died. In fact, Dad built two rooms that are on the east side of the house in order that his father would have a place to stay. So, I remember him very well. I remember Dad and my granddad always talking German to one another."

More than one hundred and fifty years, then, according to Edgar's account, after the first Eisenhowers settled in their little religious farming community in Pennsylvania, the family was still using German in everyday speech, as between father and son. However, David Eisenhower, who spoke impeccable English and could read and write Greek, refused to speak in German with his wife and children. He did not want them to be different from the other children in the pioneer West. Before David's time the close-knit community nature of the River Brethren farming colonies always kept them a little apart from the main stream of national life. They clung tenaciously to their own way of thought which they brought with them from Europe. A stubborn and non-conformist set of religious beliefs was at the very heart of their existence, so that they were different from many of the people around them. Therefore they learned to cooperate well for mutual support within their own small communities.

Although pacifists by the tenets of their religion, they were willing according to their own ways to fight for their group independence. One of the family, at least, Frederick Eisenhower, a son of John Peter, the second in line to land on American shores, set aside his pacifist religious views sufficiently so that he died as a soldier in Washington's Continental Army, according to a study of the family made for the Pennsylvania Historical Association. But the life of this soldier of the American Revolution was completely unknown to Dwight D. Eisenhower when, four generations later, he chose of his own volition to seek his education at West Point.

In the study of the family mentioned above, the fact is set down that the revolutionary soldier's father, Peter, sometimes used an English version of the Eisenhower name. He called himself "Ironcutter." Peter's will, written in 1795 and recorded at Harrisburg, Pa., July 7, 1802, names seventeen children, the last of these being a second Frederick, named for the Revolutionary soldier. He was the great-grandfather of the five living Eisenhower brothers.

Chapter 2

DAVID AND IDA

DAVID AND IDA EISENHOWER were pioneers, although they blazed no trails in a covered wagon to reach unsettled territory. They fought no Indians. But they were early settlers, first in the little town of Hope, and later in the larger town of Abilene on the edge of the Kansas plains.

Life in Abilene was hard and austere for those intensely religious early settlers. They had to work long hours to earn their living, and they had neither time nor money in their earlier years for recreation or amusement.

"My mother came from Virginia," Edgar told me. "She was an orphan at quite an early age. She was raised in Virginia by her uncle—I believe it was—at least he was her guardian." Ida Stover's mother died when she was five years old, and her father when she was eleven.

"Mother wanted a college education," said Earl. "She couldn't get it in Virginia. She had a brother in Topeka, Kansas, so she moved out West to live with her brother."

"It wasn't appropriate in those days for any young lady in Virginia to go to a university," said Milton.

"Kansas was still wild and wooly when Mother went out there," Earl observed. "They didn't care if a woman went to college or not. So when Mother arrived to live with her brother she decided to go to Lane University at Lecompton, Kansas, which is only a few miles from Topeka. That is where she met my father."

"Father also wanted a college education," Milton said. "My grandfather, who always was a farmer as well as a preacher, hoped that each of his sons would take up farming. But Father objected. He didn't want to be a farmer. He wanted to be an engineer. He went to Lane University, a small college run by the United Brethren, I believe primarily to take mathematics and other subjects as a basis for engineering. I don't believe the college had an engineering course. He and my mother were married on September 23, 1885, after each had been in college little more than a year. Neither one, then, got the university education they both had wanted, but they spent a good share of the rest of their lives making it possible for their sons to get the education they themselves were denied."

Earl commented on this, a little sadly: "Maybe the tragedy, as far as Mother's part is concerned, is that she met Dad before she finished school, got married and started raising a family."

Nobody in recent years could have been in a better position to tell the story of the early struggles of David and Ida, from first-hand knowledge, than Chris and Amanda Musser of Abilene, the five brothers' uncle and aunt. Chris Musser, a prosperous farmer, was a director of a local bank and director of the Belle Springs Creamery, a River Brethren enterprise. He was a great benefactor of David and Ida in the years when they needed help. Amanda, his wife, it will be recalled, was David's older sister. She had made the long journey with him and their father from Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, to Kansas in 1878. Both of the Mussers are now dead. They were simple, charming, down-to-earth people.

"David's father had been a very successful farmer," Chris

. . . "The store failed in 1887, just two years after David and Ida were married"

Musser recalled. "He laid aside for every one of his children one hundred and sixty acres of land, and two thousand dollars in cash as a wedding gift. Amanda brought that to me as a dowry when we became man and wife. But David wanted to go into business instead. So he mortgaged his one hundred and sixty acres to my father."

"And Dad," Edgar said, "because he didn't like farming, went into the little general store business in Hope, Kansas. Hope was at that time a mere crossroads. It is about twenty-eight miles from Abilene. I think there was a general store, and there might have been one or two other buildings. Dad took the money that his father had given him as a wedding present, and started a store.

—Courtesy of Mrs. Roy Eisenhower

DAVID AND IDA EISENHOWER
. . . a 1926 photograph taken by Roy

"Dad started the store, and he was doing all right. Then the business got to the point where he didn't think he could handle it alone. He took in a partner (and I don't want to give you the man's name because there might be some relatives living). But he took in a partner and one day went to the store and discovered, by golly, that his partner had gone, the money had gone with him, and the bills that Dad thought were paid had not been paid."

Earl told me this: "One day when I was talking to Uncle Chris, he gave me a new light on the whole subject. Farmers at that time had no real cash crop. They couldn't sell their milk in town because everybody had a cow. They couldn't sell eggs because everybody had eggs. So, they had no crop that brought in cash day by day or week by week. They went for months at a time running credit at the stores. That was a common practice at all stores. Dad didn't have enough cash to carry him indefinitely.

"Now here is what Uncle Chris said, and Uncle Chris was older than Dad and therefore could remember what Dad did: the wheat market dropped so low that the farmer just couldn't pay his bills. I believe Uncle Chris said the price went to fifteen cents a bushel. If Dad had had enough capital to carry him another year, he could probably have got through. He hadn't done anything wrong. In fact, it may be the practice of little country stores today to carry the farmer the way Dad tried to carry them. They hoped, when their wheat was harvested in July, to sell it and pay their bills. But that particular year they couldn't."

The store failed in 1887, just two years after David and Ida were married. Their start in married life, which seemed so promising, temporarily turned to disaster.

The year before, on November 11, 1886, their first child had been born in Hope—a son, Arthur. And Ida, when the store failed, was pregnant again. David had avoided farming from boyhood. He was not going to be a farmer, he decided early, and this decision remained firm when his first venture into commerce was unsuccessful. He did not like the thought of going back to his family and friends for help, being proud and independent by nature. Yet he and Ida had to have money.

"So Dad," says Edgar, "turned everything over to a lawyer who was then living in Hope, Kansas, and said: 'Look, you collect all the money and pay up all my bills and give me what is left.'"

The Family Moves to Texas

David temporarily left Ida in Hope, and set off for Tyler, Texas, where he hoped to obtain work with the railroad. Those were the days when the railroads were pushing through the West. A railroad came to Tyler in 1871 and the town started to grow rapidly. David stayed there for a time, then moved up to Denison, Texas, a new town settled in 1872 when the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad reached that point.

Edgar says: "My mother remained in Hope, Kansas, until I was born." The lawyer went to work on the accounts. "The business was liquidated, the bills were paid, the accounts receivable were collected, and the lawyer took the money and moved away. Mother needed legal knowledge so badly she went out and bought some law books, trying to find out what her rights were."

Ida was delivered of her second child, another son, on January 19, 1889. The name she gave him was Edgar Newton Eisenhower.

"Believe it or not," says Edgar, "I asked Mother why she chose Edgar and she said, 'Well, I always liked Edgar Allen Poe's poems,' and I said, 'Well, Mother, what a conflict. Edgar Allen Poe, probably one of the biggest drunkards that literature has to talk about, and you named me after him.' She said, 'Well, I still like his poems.' And Newton was the fellow who lay under the apple tree and had an apple fall down on him, and said 'Well, that must be gravity.' So she named me after him. So I am a mixture. I am a poet and I am a scientist!"

Shortly after Edgar's birth, Ida and her two sons joined David in Denison, Texas. David was working in the railroad shops. For two years they lived there—long enough for the birth of a third child, a son, David Dwight Eisenhower—the only one of the boys in the family to be born

(Continued on page 114)

A Race for Atom Markets

U.S. and Britain Now Ahead, Russia Gaining

There's a conference at Geneva soon that may prove more important than the Big Four talks. It's about "atoms for peace."

There the nations of the world will show their atomic wares for industry, make their bids for a potentially huge market.

Favorites, so far, in the peacetime atomic race are U.S. and Britain. But tipsters are warning: "Look out for the Soviets."

The world very soon is going to get its first real view of the atom at work in industry. This view will be given at the United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, August 8 to 20.

The Conference itself is billed as scientific, nonpolitical and noncompetitive. But the fact is that it is shaping up as the start of the race for world leadership in the application of the atom to industry.

Aware of the importance of this race, the major nations of the world mean to run it with utmost energy—starting at Geneva.

The U. S. Government is planning to take the wraps off some of its activities in the atomic field and the American atomic industry is readying a showcase full of nuclear equipment to put on display.

Rivalry in exhibits. The Russians, it develops, are reported to be ready to demonstrate that their claims in the atomic-industry field are not just propaganda.

The British, who in the opinion of some atomic experts hold a slight edge in the industrial application of the atom, promise an exhibit on a par with that of the U. S.

A number of other Western nations have leased exhibit space. Among them are Canada, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, Italy and the Scandinavian countries.

What it boils down to is a good old-fashioned scramble among nations for the brand-new atomic export market. The bigness of this market is outlined by I. I. Rabi, Nobel-Prize-winning atomic scientist who is the U. S. representative on the United Nations committee that is planning the Geneva event.

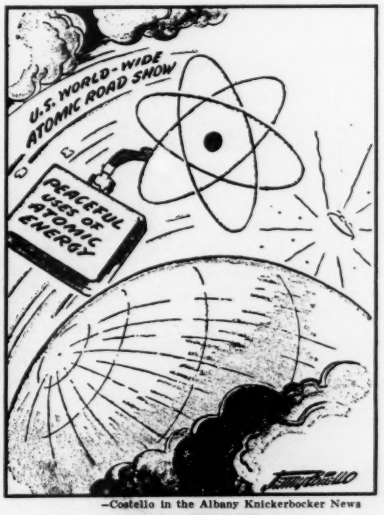
"Nuclear power," says Mr. Rabi, "will, in my opinion, turn out to be the thing that keeps the industrial revolution going."

Mr. Rabi points out that England, now running short of coal for her steam-operated generating plants, already is turning to atomic power plants. Other European nations face similar power shortages. And nuclear reactors, with their long-lasting fuel cores, are expected to hasten development of the world's remote areas.

Reactor—with box seats. With its eye on the mushrooming possibilities of the atomic revolution, the U. S. will set up an impressive exhibit at Geneva.

Expected to attract the most attention is the "swimming pool" reactor that is now being built for the Conference and will be sold to the Swiss after the event for a reported $180,000.

This reactor is to be suspended in a pool of water 10 feet in diameter and 22 feet deep. The water furnishes a radiation shield, enabling spectators to watch the uranium core in operation. A special building to house this demonstration is now under construction behind the *Palais des Nations*, the old League of Nations building where the Conference is to be held.



—Costello in the Albany Knickerbocker News

"BON VOYAGE!"

There'll be plenty of competition

The exhibit inside the *Palais des Nations*, according to George L. Weil, private atomic consultant who is handling it for the Atomic Energy Commission, has been planned to the last square inch. There will be models of five different types of power reactors now under construction by AEC and private industry in the U. S.

Also shown will be the instruments and components used in nuclear reactors producing heat and power. Another part of the exhibit will be steps in actual processing of uranium ore with the remote-control "hands" that are used to handle radioactive materials. The U. S. Information Agency's display on peacetime uses of the atom, recently viewed by President Eisenhower and Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of AEC, in Washington, also will go to Geneva.

Atomic engines, tools. In the U. S. industry exhibit, which has no official connection with the Conference but does have United Nations approval, American firms will put their newest products on display.

General Dynamics Corporation, which built the atomic engine for the submarine *Nautilus*, will have an exhibit based on the operation of the engine. Model of a "package reactor," that could be shipped to remote sections of the world to furnish power and heat, will be shown by Glenn L. Martin Company. Other companies will show designs of various types of power reactors, nuclear instruments and many other atomic tools.

The British showcase. The British, old hands at peddling industrial equipment around the world, are preparing an exhibit to rival that of the U. S. One big British firm plans to display designs for an atomic train, which it says will be useful in areas where fuel for conventional locomotives would be too expensive.

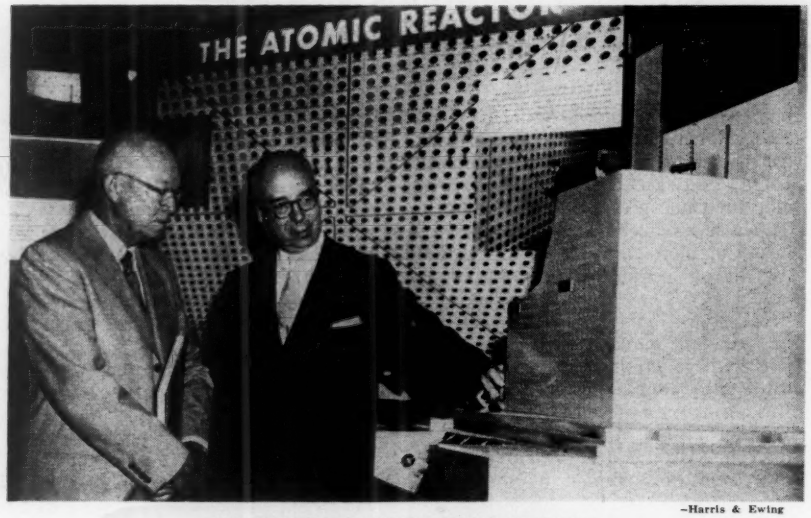
This company also will show a nuclear-power unit for an irrigation plant in desert areas, and designs for an atomic-powered ship.

Another British company plans to exhibit special magnetic pumps developed for handling liquid metal that is used to draw heat for power production from an advanced type of reactor that is to be installed in a Scottish power station.

The Kremlin, watching the expanding plans of the Western nations for the Con-

[continued]

A RACE FOR ATOM MARKETS



–Harris & Ewing

THE PRESIDENT WITH LEWIS STRAUSS
. . . and a part of the U. S. exhibit for Geneva

ference in Geneva, has decided to play ball, too. As one Western spokesman points out, Geneva is so close to the Iron Curtain that a display of the West's peacetime atomic know-how could hardly go unnoticed in the Soviet satellite nations.

Where the Soviet attitude in the first planning meeting in January had been obstructionist, it was all sweet reasonableness at the second meeting in May, according to reports from those in attendance.

Soviet surprises? Outside of the report that the Russians have reserved 26,000 square feet of space, little is known of their plans to exhibit. But unless they are bluffing, the Soviets have accumulated a lot of knowledge about the industrial application of the atom.

"If the Russian presentations live up to the abstracts that they have submitted," says Mr. Rabi, "they will give the world some valuable knowledge on the application of the atom to peaceful uses."

The Russians, for instance, have listed a discussion of the development and operation of an industrial nuclear power station for generation of electricity. Many Western officials had thought this power station existed only in propaganda releases. And, according to Mr. Rabi, the Soviets are going to cover the whole range of peacetime atomic development, with the exception of a discussion of sources of uranium and other fissionable materials.

Plenty of customers. Representatives of nearly 100 nations are expected to attend the Conference in Geneva, indicating that there will be lots of potential customers looking at the price tags on atomic industrial machinery.

U. S. atomic industrialists see in this an opening wedge to a lucrative export market.

As one executive puts it: "There's a chance for the U. S. to do in the atomic age what Britain did in the early days of the steam locomotive when she went around the world building railroads and developing new markets."

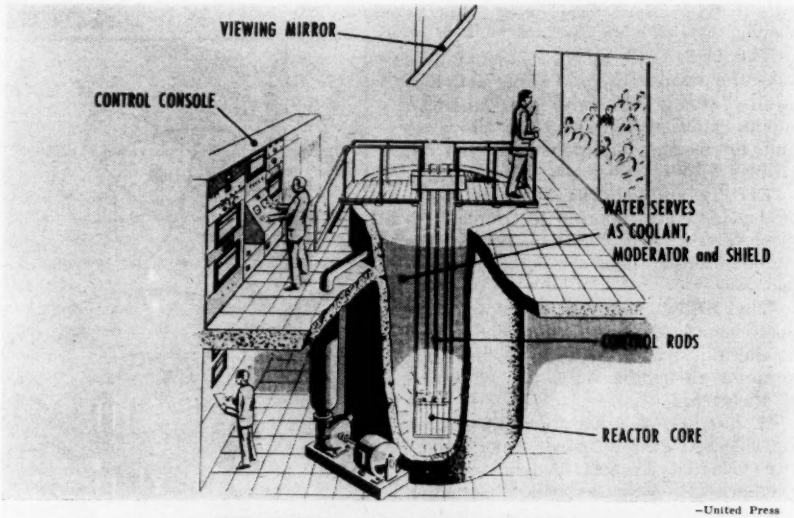
Atomic experts argue at length whether the U. S. or Britain is now ahead in the peacetime uses of atomic energy. The British point out that they have started on a program to build 12 nuclear power stations that are expected to have a capacity of 2 million kilowatts of power by 1965.

The American program at this point adds up to around 700,000 kilowatts of nuclear generating capacity under construction. However, W. Kenneth Davis, AEC director of reactor development, estimates that by 1965 the U. S. will have from 4 to 6 million kilowatts of nuclear-power capacity in operation.

Not only the U. S. and Britain will be competing for the atomic export market. Other Western nations—and Russia, too—have indicated they will bid for export sales. The Russians have been lining up their own atoms-for-peace program behind the Iron Curtain and are looking around for business in the free world.

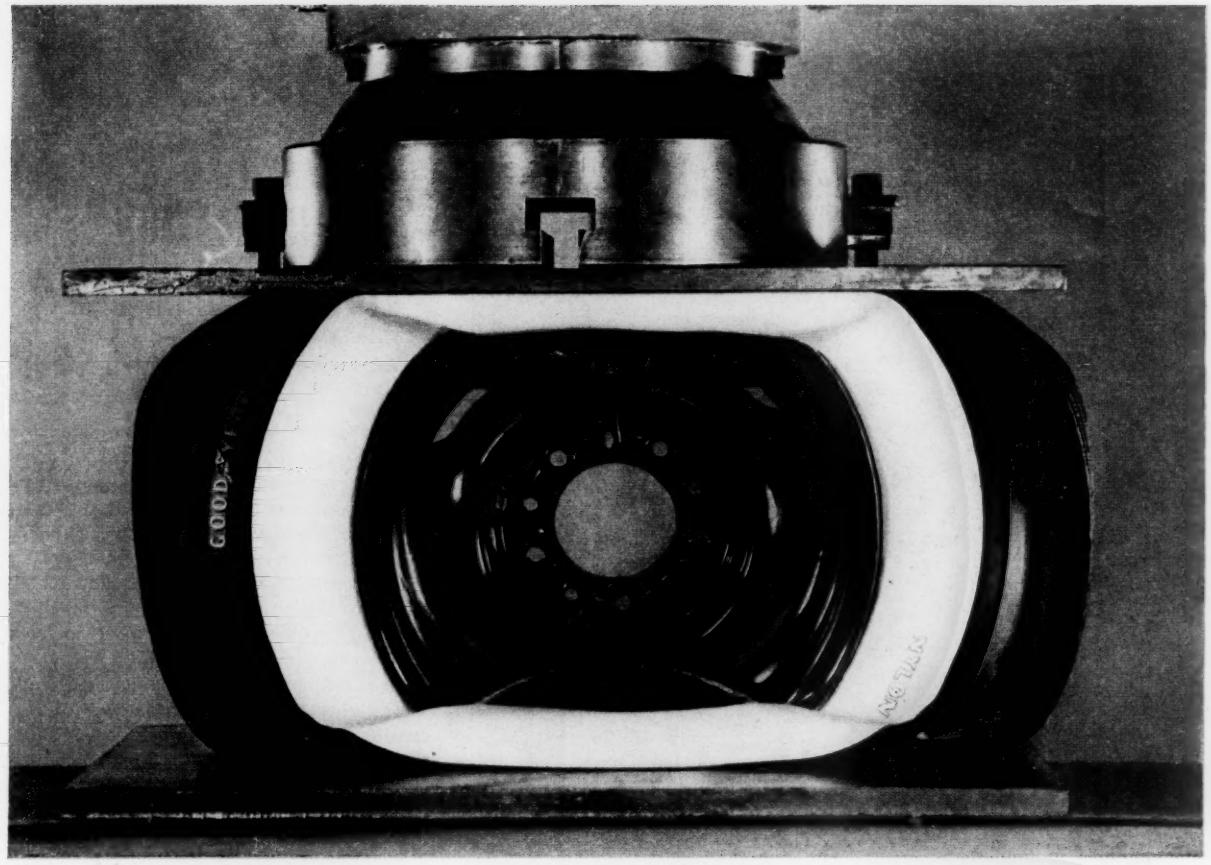
In the opinion of many U. S. atomic scientists and industrialists, the Geneva Conference in August may turn out to be more important to the future of the world than the Big Four meeting that will be held this month in Geneva. In any event, say these experts, it will erase any doubt that the atomic revolution has arrived.

Reds make propaganda of another kind of atomic conference—see page 66.



–United Press

THE "SWIMMING POOL" REACTOR
Suspended in a pool of water to shield viewers from radiation, this U. S. reactor is expected to make a hit



31,150-lb. pressure crushes steel wheel but not one 3-T Nylon Cord is broken!

This is just one of the punishing tests Goodyear 3-T Nylon Cord has taken successfully. This miracle-strength fabric—given a host of demanding strength tests—passed every one!

Why? In an exclusive and patented 3-T process, Goodyear Nylon Cord is integrated with improved rubber compounds and triple tempered under Tension, Temperature and Time to produce a rugged tubeless tire body that gives you the kind of extra strength you need for real protection against blowouts and puncture flats.

You get a triple-tread combination for greater safety! **1)** Saw teeth rib edges, **2)** deep-cut Stop-Notches and **3)** flexible cross-cuts team up to give more than 8,000 edges for safe, straightline stops.

See your Goodyear dealer today. Goodyear, Akron 16, Ohio.

This new tread design is also available in an All-Nylon Cord DeLuxe Super-Cushion tire that uses a tube.

MORE PEOPLE RIDE ON GOODYEAR TIRES THAN ON ANY OTHER KIND!

NEW ALL-NYLON CORD TUBELESS DELUXE SUPER-CUSHION

GOODYEAR TIRES by GOODYEAR

Look for this sign; there's a Goodyear dealer near you.

Super-Cushion, T. M., The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio

AUTOMATION grows automatically

says Roger W. Bolz, Editor
AUTOMATION MAGAZINE

"Many of the basic devices required for machines and systems which perform automatic operations are themselves produced by varying degrees of automation. The automatic processing and handling of data, materials, parts and finished products promises greater output per man-hour, improved quality, elimination of dangerous and fatiguing tasks. It also holds promise of greater profits for concerns which can adapt automation wisely.

"It is estimated that, in the next ten years, the metalworking industry alone will be purchasing automatic equipment, devices and controls at the rate of a billion dollars per year.

"In the whole area of automation, from electronic computing to automatic processing, manufacturing and warehousing equipment, annual sales volume will be close to ten billion dollars within the next decade."

Calumet & Hecla fabricates components for automatic devices

Many manufacturers use parts and materials produced by C&H where motion depends on hydraulics activated by electric controls.

Calumet & Hecla's experience and engineering techniques have also been utilized by leaders in the chemical, construction and automotive industries. C&H components are widely used by makers of air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment. Calumet & Hecla, Inc., executive offices: 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 3, Illinois.

Calumet & Hecla, Inc.

FABRICATORS OF ALUMINUM, STEEL AND COPPER—PRODUCERS OF INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS—MINERS OF COPPER

Everybody likes to spot a 'comer'—early

ART AND ENTERTAINMENT: LATEST "COLD WAR" WEAPON FOR U.S.

U.S. culture—music, drama, all the arts—is going on display everywhere now.

It's a new strategy in the fight against Communism, and it's going over big.

Russia, long an exporter of performers, is finding American artists attracting attention of enthusiastic audiences abroad.

Musicals in Europe, symphonies in Asia, art exhibits in Latin America—all play a part in the culture campaign, and the Government is making up the deficits.

It's a new field for the U.S. The Communists, for the first time, are meeting real competition in a global battle of the arts.

People around the world are beginning to find the "cold war" entertaining—at least in one of its latest phases.

America and the Communist bloc are sending their finest talent—musicians, ballet dancers, actors—everywhere to build prestige among intellectuals.

Europeans and Asians are eating it up. In big cities such as Paris, hardly a week goes by without a U. S. or Communist show on the platform, sometimes both at the same time. It is almost like an old-fashioned band contest, with the trumpets of one side trying to drown out the horns of another.

Even places as remote as Iceland or the town of Peshawar, at the foot of the Khyber Pass in Northern Pakistan, see talent from both sides as the artistic warfare warms up.

It was Russia that launched its big cultural drive first, right after Joseph Stalin's death. In the last eight months, 500 Soviet and other Communist performers have visited France alone. And they lose no chance to build up the old idea among intellectuals abroad that America is a "barbaric" nation, with little or no real culture.

Can U.S. catch up? The U.S., getting started only recently, is making up for lost time.

Congress, last autumn, gave the State Department 2.25 million dollars to help U. S. artists and athletes—selected by the American National Theater and Academy and the Amateur Athletic Union—make foreign tours that could not hope to meet expenses by commercial bookings.

That program, on top of the libraries, art exhibits and lecturers sponsored by the U. S. Information Agency, now gives foreigners a look at American talent of all kinds—not just the gangsters, jive artists and millionaires they see in Hollywood films and hear about from Communists.

The musical comedy "Oklahoma!" swept French critics off their feet in Paris. It is booked for Italy, also, and may be sent around the world.

That show is just one feature of an American cultural display in Paris, "Salute to France," which is helped by the U. S. Government. An American art exhibit drew heavy crowds. Actress Judith Anderson, in "Medea," was praised by one critic as giving "one of the most remarkable performances of our generation."

U. S. musical triumph. Europeans are still talking about another musical from America, "Porgy and Bess," now being sent to Latin America after a triumphal tour of seven countries in Europe and the Middle East.

In Milan, stronghold of traditional European opera, "Porgy and Bess" sold out four days before it opened, and it won thunderous ovations for eight consecutive nights at La Scala. Even the Communist press called this folk opera about life on Catfish Row "one of the masterpieces of the lyric stage."

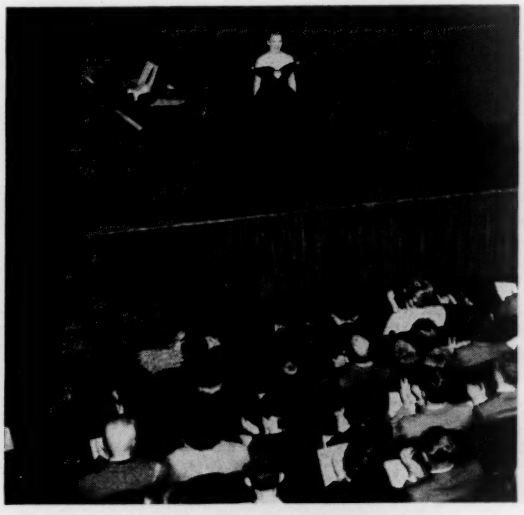
In Tel Aviv, two thirds of those wanting to see "Porgy and Bess" were turned away. At one showing, a crowd of 200 Israelis crashed through a window and squatted in the aisles.

Everywhere, U. S. diplomats report, "Porgy and Bess" did much to dispel the idea of foreigners that America has little culture. And many Europeans commented that its all-Negro cast, on this official tour, was an effective reply to widespread stories of racial tension in the United States.

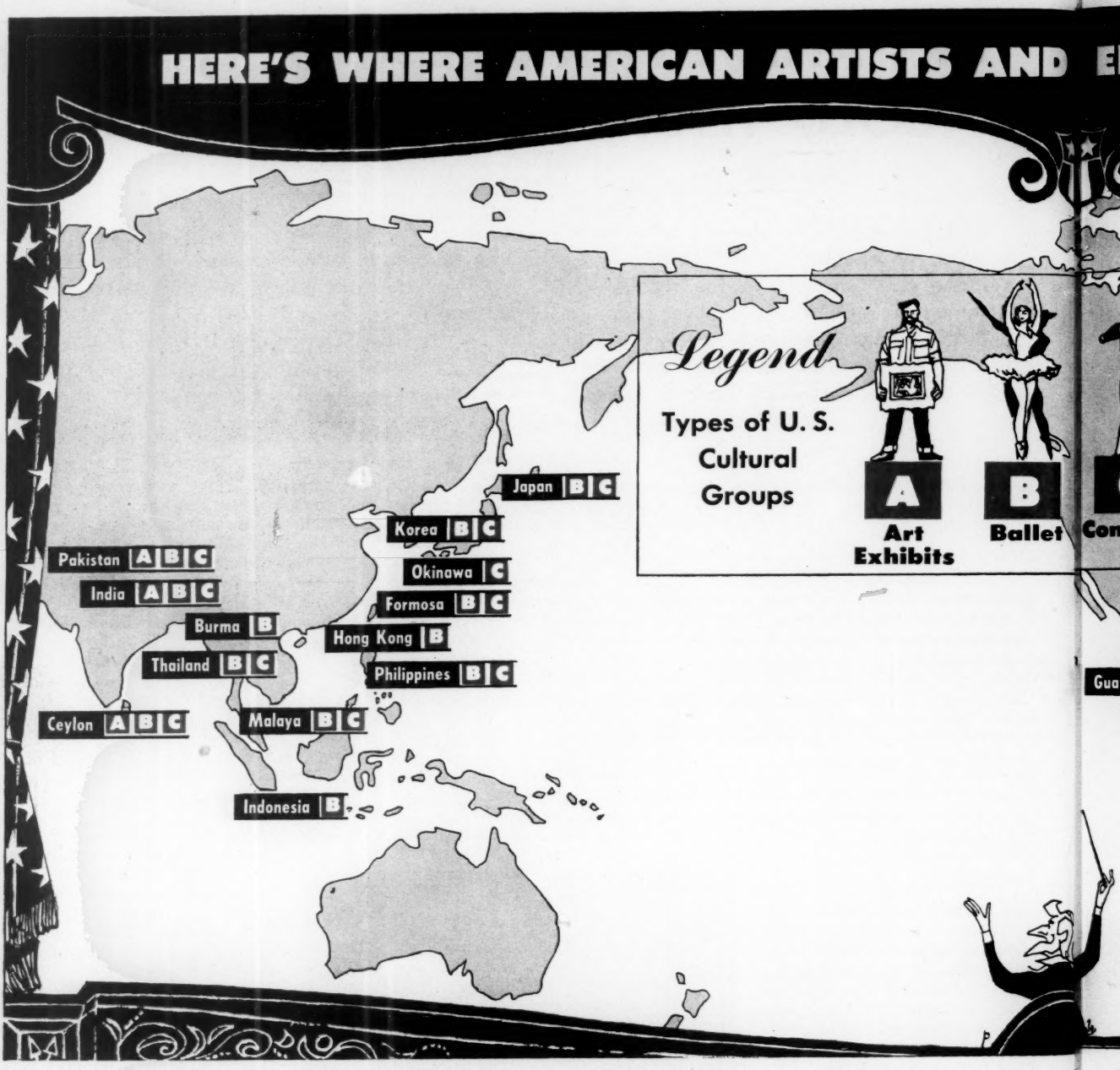
"Rave" notices. In Europe, too, U. S. art exhibits draw people by the thousands—in Germany, Spain, Britain and other nations. The New York City Ballet, at its Paris debut, was cheered by an overflow audience long after auditorium lights went on. The 102-man Philadelphia Symphony, on tour, got packed houses and "rave" reviews.

American officials now are trying to send more performers to Asia and Africa. In that part of the world, few American artists can get commercial bookings—and anti-American feeling among Asian artists and intellectuals is especially strong.

The U. S., this year, is helping



AMERICAN SINGS IN VIENNA
Also: tennis teams, dance troupes



send a tennis team to the all-Asian tennis tournament in India. The Martha Graham dance troupe is to make a tour of Asia. Exhibits of American paintings, arranged by the U. S. Information Agency, prove popular in India and elsewhere.

Big U. S. cultural showpiece in Asia, right now, is the "Symphony of the Air." This orchestra, trained and conducted for years by Arturo Toscanini, is touring the Far East with the help of a $200,000 Government grant. It stirs even wilder enthusiasm among Asians than "Porgy and Bess" did in Europe.

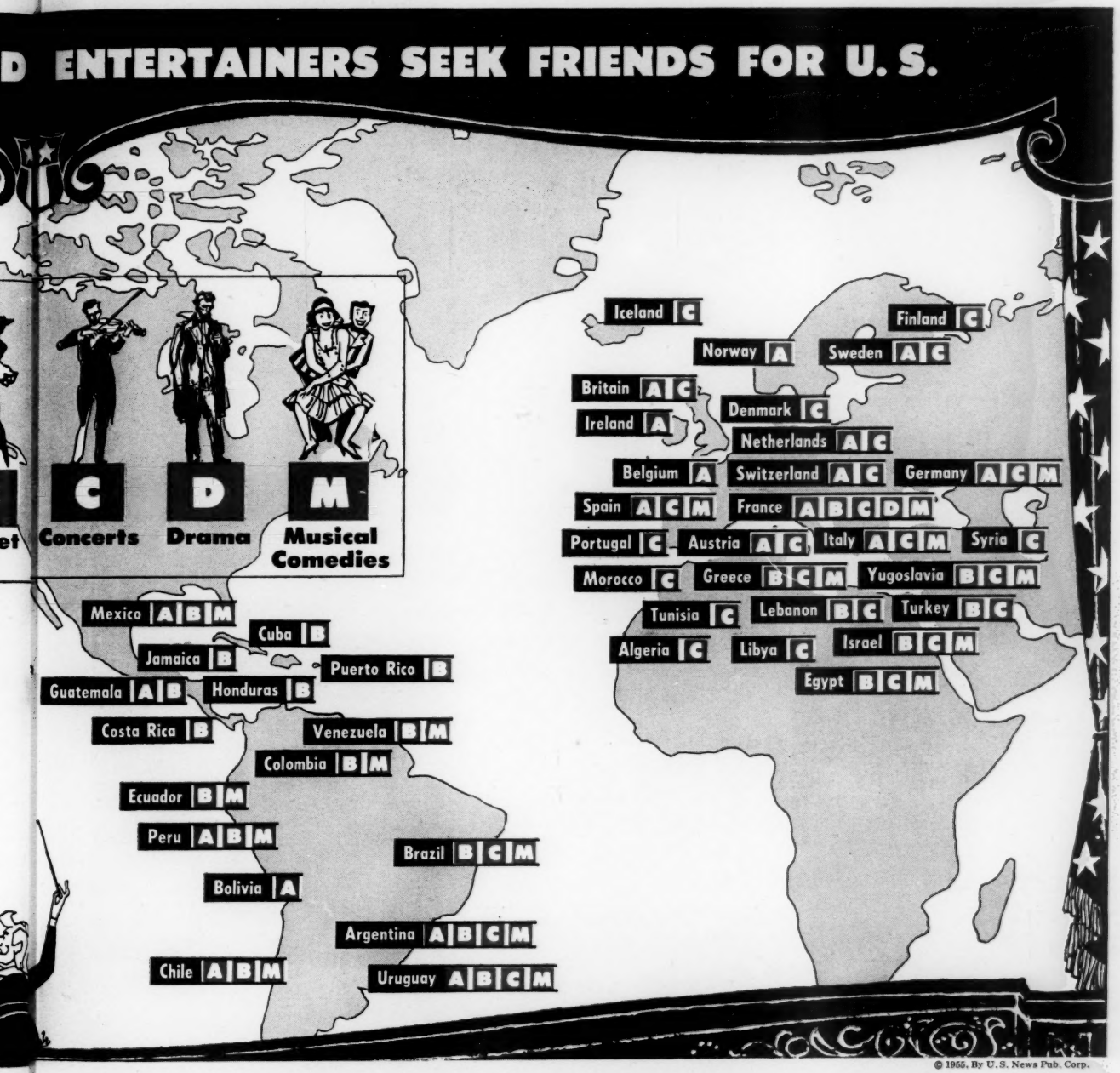
Gifts and fan mail. In Tokyo, people stood in line 24 hours just to get standing-room tickets to "Symphony of the Air." Musicians were besieged for autographs.

Latin America, too, is getting a slice of officially backed U. S. ballet and art exhibits, in addition to "Porgy and Bess."

These cultural missions by no means answer all the criticism of the U. S. abroad. Anti-Americans in Tokyo and elsewhere point out that the "Symphony of the Air" seemed to find very little American music worth playing. And there are complaints that U. S. artists have to attend too many high official receptions, unlike Russian artists who seek out students.

Generally, however, American performers are found to be making a good impression—and causing many foreigners to revise their idea of America as backward in the arts.

American performers occasionally show up their Communist rivals. A Soviet art exhibit in Ceylon was termed inferior to a showing of U. S. water colors there a few weeks earlier. Japanese comment was



© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

far more favorable to the "Symphony of the Air" than to the recent visit of a Soviet ballet troupe.

Communists, too, suffered a propaganda reverse when three of their performers deserted to the West while touring France in the past year.

Speed-up for Reds. These setbacks are forcing the Communists—old hands in official show business—to step up their efforts.

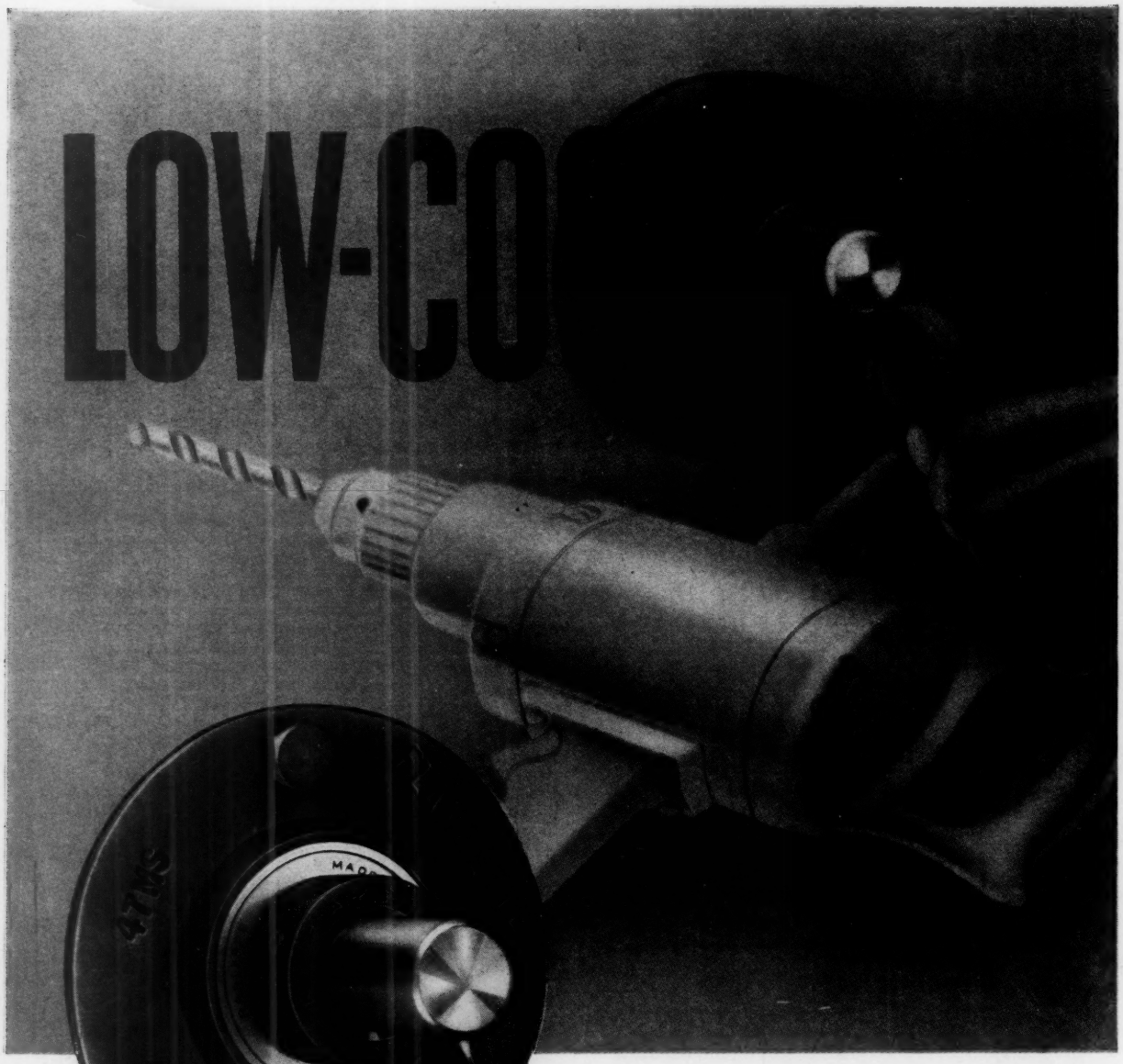
Russia, with a full-fledged Ministry of Culture that spends tens of millions of dollars annually, has concert artists performing throughout Europe and has even sent a ballet troupe to Canada. A Soviet company of 30 entertainers, including circus performers, toured India for six weeks, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's Government picking up the tab. And the London appearance of Russia's leading violinist, David Oistrakh, was a big event of the musical season.

Communist China is busy, too. A Chinese entertainment troupe made a big hit in New Delhi. And the Peiping Opera Company, turning up in far-off Paris, drew huge crowds and enthusiastic reviews from critics.

U. S. and Communist cultural competition, already warm, is to get warmer. The Administration now is asking Congress for funds to continue officially backed overseas tours by American artists next year.

America's cultural drive, officials point out, has to overcome a big head start by the Communists. But U. S. judging by audience reaction, is doing very well in the world-wide battle developing between American and Communist artists.

An attitude and an aptitude for solving bearing problems . . .



Fafnir Flangette, a pre-lubricated, completely packaged unit.

FAFNIR

BALL BEARINGS

To break the cost barrier limiting the use of ball bearings on farm equipment, Fafnir developed the Flangette, a unique ball bearing power transmission unit. Its initial cost is low. Its simplified construction assures easiest installation and removal. Costs are lowered two ways.

The Flangette is typical of Fafnir developments made possible by an experience which is over 40 years long and industry wide. Maybe this "economy package" or some similar Fafnir Development can help you break a cost-barrier. The Fafnir Bearing Co., New Britain, Conn.

MOST COMPLETE LINE IN AMERICA

Worldgram®

FROM THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

SAN FRANCISCO....MOSCOW....SINGAPORE....PARIS....ROME....

›› You can be sure of this when Big Four chiefs finally meet in Geneva:

U.S. will be asked by Soviet Russia to make the real concessions.

Blame will be pinned on U.S. for "cold war," arms race, war threats, crisis in Far East, division of Germany--everything Moscow can be blamed for.

Soviet will then attempt to throw the West into a tail spin by proposing withdrawal of all troops--U.S., British, French, Soviet--from Germany. This will be presented by Moscow as an unprecedentedly generous concession, a prelude to world-wide disarmament, end of cold war, the only road to peace.

It's Washington's turn to make concessions--so Moscow will say.

›› Soviet rulers are staging a careful build-up for Geneva.

Smiling diplomats are dutifully acting roles written for them in Moscow.

Welcome for visitors is another new, if temporary, line. French, German, even U.S. correspondents are getting visas and guided tours in Russia.

Top neutralists--Premier Nehru and V. K. Krishna Menon of India, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia--are buttered up, being used to echo ideas Moscow wants spread. Nehru, visiting London after Moscow, is relied on to soften up Prime Minister Eden. Menon seems to be assigned job of persuading U.S. to quit Asia.

Soviet gestures are advertised as concessions. Soviet disarmament plan is hailed as the hope of the world. Holes in it are blandly ignored.

U.S. is pictured as the one standing in the way of peace. The pressure is on U.S. to take Soviet proposals at face value, and let the world relax.

›› Actually, Soviet leaders are quite frank about their objectives. When you look carefully at what Foreign Minister Molotov said at San Francisco.....

Allies are asked to disband all military alliances in Europe, Middle East, Far East. Soviet bloc, though, is to remain intact. No disbanding there.

U.S. is invited to ship all troops home, dismantle all overseas bases.

A-bombs, H-bombs are to be outlawed, if Molotov has his way, under rules and inspection system satisfactory to the Kremlin.

Communist China--say Molotov, Nehru and others--must be admitted to United Nations, given not only the offshore islands but Formosa as well.

What Molotov is asking, of course, is unconditional surrender by U.S.

›› In Singapore, Britain now wonders how long it can hold this crown colony.

North of Singapore the jungle war with Malaya's Communist guerrillas has lasted seven years, with no end in sight, with British rejecting truce offers.

Now Singapore appears to be in for it, with Communist tactics adapted to city conditions. Chinese Communists are stirring up strike after strike, using

(over)

Chinese students to incite violence, keeping a shaky local Government on edge.

It's an inside attack by Chinese on a city of 17,000 whites, surrounded by 910,000 Chinese. Wealthy Chinese, some millionaires, are either helping the Communists or refusing to interfere. None dares to be openly anti-Communist.

>> Britain, in Singapore, finds itself on this kind of spot:

Having recognized Communist China, Britain in return expected peaceful relations. Besides: Britain is weak in Asia, counts on diplomacy to pinch-hit for troops, wants no war, and in addition has Hong Kong to think of.

Singapore's Communists, nevertheless, are Chinese, directed from Peiping, just as Malayan Communists are. Up to now, Britain has waged war on Malayan Communists, but not on Singapore Communists. British policy has been to pretend that there's no connection between Singapore Communists and Peiping.

But this diplomatic fiction has begun to wear pretty thin.

Crackdown in Singapore can't be delayed forever. Local police of the new, home-rule Government can't do the job. British troops, sooner or later, will probably have to move in. Protests to Peiping will be a waste of breath.

Question is whether even British troops can save Singapore for very long.

>> France's chronic headache in North Africa is getting worse.

More French troops will have to be sent there, Paris officials gloomily admit. Another 20,000 may soon go to Algeria, which already has 100,000.

Paris hoped that stern police action, coupled with a degree of home rule in Tunisia, would be enough to pacify Algeria and Morocco. Instead.....

In Algeria, French are fighting one brush fire after another. Every French farm is a minor arsenal. Casualties among both French settlers and Arab extremists occur day after day. Morocco is living with two kinds of terror--one caused by nationalists, the other a counterterror instigated by French extremists who take the law into their own hands, with police encouragement.

Tunisia, with its new home rule, is relatively quiet, safe to travel in.

Paris has been very slow to arrest French settlers and officials involved in counterterror. French settlers can, if they want, upset French Cabinets.

More troops, while the supply lasts, is only solution Paris can think of. As a result, violence and nationalist agitation can be expected to go right on.

>> In Rome, for the inside story of why Premier Scelba resigned.....

Scelba's own party is responsible for the fall of the Scelba Government.

Personal rivalries, ambitions are partly to blame. Hunger among Christian Democrats for top posts, including Cabinet jobs, has lately grown acute.

Scelba's program has also been too strong a dose for his more conservative followers to swallow. They gag at tax reform, land reform.

Surprising thing is that this internal opposition didn't force Scelba out of office long ago. When he first became Premier, 16 months ago, most observers in Rome doubted he'd last 16 weeks, let alone 16 months.

Communists hate and fear Scelba as a vigorous anti-Communist, but can't claim credit for ousting him, can't pick his successor. Most Communists can do is to urge President Gronchi to choose a Premier less vigorous than Scelba.

Next Government, it's expected in Rome, will again be a coalition, with Christian Democrats in charge. Government by rather uneasy compromise is likely to continue. Strong Government, with a clear mandate, is not in the cards.

Where Communism Is Booming

Indonesia—in Government and All Walks of Life

Communists are riding high in Indonesia. They've been made "respectable" by the Government, and they're cashing in.

It's quite a switch from their "disgrace" of a few years ago.

A member of the Board of Editors of *U. S. News & World Report* with years of experience in Asia recently revisited Indonesia to check up on the Communists. This is his report.

JAKARTA, Indonesia

The Communist hammer and sickle is on display everywhere you travel in Indonesia these days. A visitor, returning after an absence of just a few months, cannot help but be impressed—and disturbed—by the spectacular gains the Reds are making in this country.

Some people, particularly Moslem political leaders, are worried about the growing influence of Communism. But the men who run Indonesia have entered into a marriage of convenience with the Reds—confident that a divorce can be arranged any time the alliance becomes embarrassing.

It may not be as simple as that. The Communists are methodically building up their party machinery and winning more and more converts to their cause. The evidence is unmistakable.

Less than two years ago the Communists were an unimportant group, struggling for survival here. They were still in disgrace as a result of their 1948 attempt to seize power while the Indonesians were fighting the Dutch. They were little more than a parliamentary nuisance to the anti-Communist Government ruling the country at that time.

Life-and-death power. Today the Communists not only are respectable in the eyes of the Government, they actually hold the power of life and death over that Government. The hodgepodge of political parties that makes up the present coalition lacks a majority in Parliament. It has to have the votes of the 17 Communist members and six fellow travelers in order to survive.

The non-Communist politicians heading the Government, including President Soekarno, seem determined to stay in power at any cost. They are willing to pay the Communists a high price for their support. In exchange, the Communists now get something here that they have nowhere else in non-Communist Asia—freedom to work openly and unmolested. As a result:

- Communist Party membership is rising rapidly. The leaders claim 500,000 members now, compared with 12,000 before they made their deal with the Government. Impartial experts say actual party membership is closer to 150,000—but even that is more than a tenfold increase since the present Government took office.
- Indonesia's biggest trade-union federation is largely under Communist domination. The Reds, if they choose, can close down the docks, the rubber plantations and the few factories operating here.
- A war-veterans organization controlled by Communists has boosted its membership from 50,000 to 200,000 in less than two years.
- A multitude of Communist-front organizations has sprung up to win over students, housewives, all sorts of groups that know little about politics.

Red political machine. Now the Reds are turning their attention to rural Indonesia, and their opponents concede that they have developed a political machine second to none.

Here is an example of the sort of political indoctrination many Indonesians are getting since the Communists went to work in earnest. An American visitor got into conversation with one of the waiters at a hotel in Central Java recently.

"What political party do you belong to?" he asked.

"The Communist Party," replied the waiter.

"Why?"

"Because when the Communists take over we won't just be waiters anymore. We'll own this hotel."

In addition to discipline and a smooth-working organization, the Reds have plenty of money to finance their work. They are the only party with cash enough to maintain salaried organizers right down to the village level.

Much of the money is supplied by wealthy Chinese businessmen in Indonesia, according to reliable informants. This country has a Chinese population of 2.5 million and an estimated one third of them are loyal to Communist China.

No worry. Indonesia's Government leaders say they are not worried by the Communist gains. President Soekarno and Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo insist they can crush the Reds any time they choose.

"After all," said one official, "we crushed them in 1948. We can do it again if it becomes necessary."

But up to now President Soekarno has shown no inclination to curb the Communists, and they are making the most of their opportunity. Most experts do not expect violence to explode out of the Communist build-up here. The way things are going, the day may come when Indonesia will fall to the Reds without a fight.

—East-West

PRESIDENT SOEKARNO
Can he "divorce" the Communists?

A former official of the Indonesian Government tells how the Communists plan to grab control of his country—page 64.

More Trouble in Asia:

HOW REDS ARE PLOTTING TO GRAB INDONESIA

Is Indonesia being handed to the Reds?

From a man who spent years in the service of that country's Government comes this inside account of how the Communists are being helped to a position of power in one of the richest strategic areas of Southeast Asia.

Hasan Muhammad Tiro was secretary to Indonesia's anti-Communist Premier Prawiranegara in 1949-50 and later served on the staff of his country's Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Tiro resigned in 1954 in protest against policies of the present Premier, Ali Sastroamidjojo. The article that follows is reprinted from the magazine *New Leader*.

by Hasan Muhammad Tiro

Former Head of Research, Indonesian Embassy in U.S.

The 80 million people of Indonesia—sixth largest nation on earth, third richest in natural resources after the United States and the Soviet Union—are on the verge of complete Communist domination. The Communists and fellow-travelers, their sympathizers and naïve dupes already exercise virtual control over the Army, police, Government administration, Parliament and trade unions.

The present situation exists because the people of Indonesia have been denied the right to vote and elect representatives of their own choice. The present regime, headed by Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, has been trying to avoid elections for years. The Communists and their accomplices are aware that, if the people of Indonesia were given the opportunity to vote freely, they would almost certainly lose the election to the non- and anti-Communist *Masjumi* and Socialist parties. While postponing Indonesia's first free election, the Sastroamidjojo forces are tightening their grip on all power levers of government.

There has been a series of purges of high-ranking anti-Communist Government officials. Among the anti-Communist Army officers who have been removed are General Simatupang (Armed Forces Chief of Staff), Colonel Nasution (Army Chief of Staff), Colonel Gatot Subroto (commander of the Seventh Division), Lieutenant Colonel Parman (commander of the Djakarta [Jakarta] police force), and Lieutenant Colonel Kosasih (commander of the South Sumatra Division). These and others were purged for demanding that the regime hold a speedy general election for a democratic government.

The Communists maintained that these officers had interfered in political affairs and that their actions constituted insubordination. But the Communists had only praise for the pro-Communist Army officers (Lieutenant Colonel Warrouw in Celebes, Lieutenant Colonel Sudirman in East Java, and Lieutenant Colonel Kretarto in South Sumatra) who deposed and arrested their anti-Communist superiors, simultaneously declaring their allegiance to President Soekarno. No charge of insubordination was raised against them. In fact, Soekarno soon recognized them as division commanders and promoted each of them to the rank of colonel.

As for the Government administration, the Governor of North Sumatra, Abdul Hakim, and the Mayor of Djakarta, Sjamsuridjal, were ousted after declaring their open opposition to the Communist party. The Socialist Governor of Central Java, Milono, was also replaced by a fellow-traveler. On March 5, the regime removed Sosrodanukusumo, head of the Secret Police Department, to make way for the new Red chief of the newly-established Indonesian GPU. Sosrodanukusumo, a *Masjumi* party member, was accused by the Minister of Justice of trying to help anti-Communist Chinese leaders in connection with the deportation actions taken against them.

Meanwhile, the public's clamor for a general election gained momentum. To appease the public, the regime made a gesture in the direction of "preparing" for a general election by establishing a Central Election Committee in Djakarta. This body will be responsible for counting the votes if the election ever takes place. This Election Committee, however, is of strange composition. Represented on it are the PKI (the Communist party), the PNI (Soekarno's Nationalist party), the PRN (People's National party, whose leading figure, Minister of Justice Gondokusumo, prosecuted the anti-Communist Chinese in Indonesia), the *Sobsi* (the Communist-controlled federation of labor), the SKI (the People's Association party), the *Murba* (a proletarian party), and the *Perti* (a Moslem sect whose leader, Siradjudin Abas, participated in the Peking Peace Conference).

The anti-Communist Moslem *Masjumi* party (by far the largest party in the country) and the Socialist party were specifically excluded from representation on the Committee. Thus, the chance for an honest election has been precluded from the start by Soekarno's adroit stacking of the cards in favor of the pro-Communist forces.

Since the Sastroamidjojo regime took over the Government more than a year-and-a-half ago, no open criticism against the Communist party has been tolerated. Even the former Premier, Muhammad Natsir, Chairman of the *Masjumi* party, and Isa Anshary, prominent Moslem leader, were arraigned for

interrogation by the Prosecutor General's office because of anti-Communist speeches they delivered on September 23, 1953.

The newspaper *Tindjauan* in Macassar was put out of business because it criticized the Red Defense Minister. Only last month, Tan Po Goan, a Member of Parliament and therefore supposedly entitled to Parliamentary immunity, was interrogated by the Prosecutor General for speeches he delivered on the floor of Parliament. A "bamboo curtain" has thus been drawn inside Indonesia.

When Communists Were Defeated

Three times in nine years, the Communists have tried to take over Indonesia. Twice they were defeated. In 1946, a Communist *coup d'état* failed. In 1948, the outright proclamation of a Communist "people's republic" in Madiun, Central Java, under the leadership of Amir Sjarifuddin, a former Premier and Defense Minister and Soekarno's right-hand man, met with failure.

Among those convicted and sentenced to jail in the Communist plot of 1946 were Iwa Kusumasumantri, a Moscow-trained Communist, and Mohamed Yamin. Soekarno not only pardoned these men, but appointed both of them to high office. Yamin is now Minister of Education, and Kusumasumantri is now Minister of Defense. It is beyond understanding how the Indonesian people can defend themselves against Soviet encroachment when their Defense Minister is a Communist party leader whose family, to this day, resides in Moscow.

Little consolation can be drawn from the backgrounds of other members of Sastroamidjojo's cabinet. Gondokusumo, the Minister of Justice, participated in the Budapest Peace Conference and, as already mentioned, ousted the anti-Communist Chinese leaders from Indonesia. Minister of Labor Abidin participated in the Peking Peace Conference. Minister of Agriculture Sadjarwo represented a Communist-front organization, the Peasant Association. Foreign Minister Sunarjo helped with the Stockholm Peace Appeal drive in Indonesia. The Minister of State Welfare, Siradjudin Abas, also participated in the Peking Peace Conference.

Immediately upon assuming power in July 1953, the Sastroamidjojo regime took drastic steps to destroy all actual or potential anti-Communist forces in the country. In August 1953, the Red Defense Minister sent his troops to Sumatra to arrest 300 anti-Communist leaders there. The anti-Communist leaders, under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh, Governor of Sumatra, resorted to armed resistance. On September 21, 1953, a united front of all anti-Communist Moslem forces was formed under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh, backed by General Sanusi Partawidjaja in Java, General Kahar Muzakar in Celebes, and Colonel Ibnu Hadjar in Borneo.

The forces of these leaders are now in *de facto* control of North Sumatra, parts of West and Central Java, South and Central Celebes and part of Borneo. Ironically, these are the same Indonesian patriots who valiantly resisted Dutch colonial forces in the period of 1945-49 when most leaders of the present Sastroamidjojo regime were either in hiding or were meekly permitting themselves to be put in detention camps.

In January 1954, after suffering the brunt of the civil war which it had created, the Sastroamidjojo regime sought to legalize its action by asking the Parliament in Djakarta to declare the anti-Communist movement under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh an outlaw organization. The pro-Communists, however, had to vote by themselves, because the *Masjumi* party and the Socialists refused to vote and walked out of Parliament.

The Sastroamidjojo regime had labeled the anti-Communist forces "terrorists" and "fanatics," while in fact the Government itself employs terror as a matter of policy in order to intimidate the people. Massacres of anti-Communist peasants and burning of homes by Government troops are daily occurrences in places far from Djakarta. The regime, by means of the state-controlled radio and subsidized press, has blamed these barbaric acts on the anti-Communist forces, while the latter have no facilities to make their voice heard by the outside world. Documentation of these charges is now in the hands of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, which is investigating the violations of cultural freedom in Indonesia.

–UN

THE PEOPLE OF INDONESIA
". . . are on the verge of complete Communist domination"

The writer of this article was privileged to present a list of violations of human rights by the Sastroamidjojo regime to the United Nations during the last General Assembly. Then anti-Communist forces in Indonesia challenged the regime to permit an international investigation of these atrocities. Nothing has been done. The Communists and their allies have effectively dropped a bamboo curtain over Indonesia. They have assumed power in fact if not in name. But the people of Indonesia, who fought successfully for their independence, will not permit their freedom to be lost again—this time to Communism—if they know that they have the free world's sympathy and support.

Foregoing is full text of an article, "Red Threat in Indonesia," by Hasan Muhammad Tiro, as printed in the April 11, 1955, issue of "The New Leader," 7 East 15th Street, New York.

A friend in need

You can count on the Hartford Agent for help in time of disaster. Here's an actual example . . .

Trapped

in a midnight fire, this couple was lucky to escape. *But their home was badly damaged.* Their Hartford Fire Insurance Company Agent was on the job, working for them, before breakfast. What a relief to hear him say, "You've nothing to worry about — you're insured in the Hartford!"

Remember, there's a Hartford Agent available to *you*, too!

Year In and Year Out You'll Do Well with the

Hartford

Hartford Fire Insurance Company
Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company
Hartford Live Stock Insurance Company
Citizens Insurance Company of New Jersey
Hartford 15, Connecticut
Northwestern Fire & Marine Insurance Company
Twin City Fire Insurance Company
Minneapolis 2, Minnesota

CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Notice of change of address should be sent not less than two weeks prior to the date change becomes effective. Send the address at which copies are now being received and the new address at which you wish to receive copies.

U. S. News & World Report
Circulation Department
435 Parker Ave., Dayton 1, Ohio

NEED VACATION HELP ?

Just phone Manpower, Inc.

We'll send you our bonded, insured employees to get your jobs done while your girls are on vacation. We pay them . . . handle all details . . . save you money. Quit worrying — enjoy your own vacation.

Call **nearest office**

manpower, inc.

Dept U. S.-7, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Nation's Largest Complete Business Service
Over 50 offices Coast to Coast

LIFE AROUND THE WORLD®

memo

FROM JAPAN

CROCODILE TEARS

HIROSHIMA—Here in Hiroshima, the first city hit by an atomic bomb, the Communists have just demonstrated how easily they can twist a nonpolitical conference of scientists to serve their own purposes.

Some time ago Japanese scientists sent out invitations to an international meeting to study the medical effects of radiation. The Japanese hosts promised their Government that they would not permit the conference to degenerate into political oratory. But by the time the sessions ended nearly all the scientists present found themselves giving direct support or lip service to two Soviet claims:

1. The only way to save the world is to ban nuclear weapons and tests.

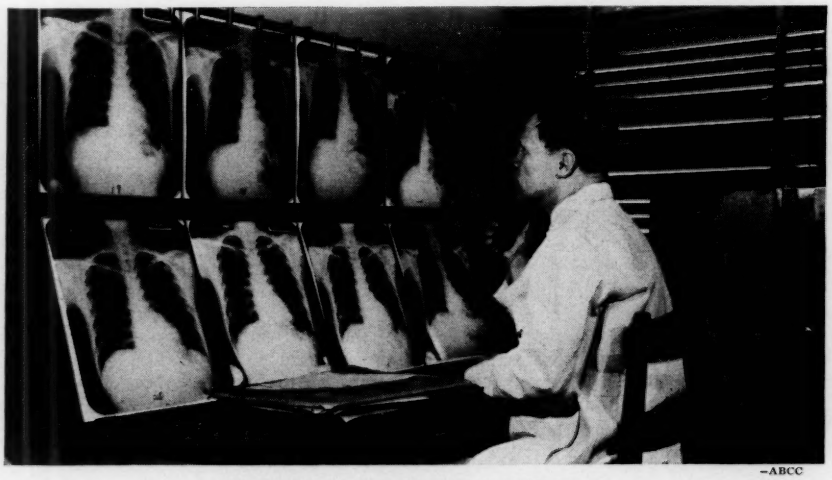
2. The West, particularly the U. S., is the sole roadblock on this way to peace.

During the meetings the Communist delegates from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Russia and China showed little interest in the scientific papers presented by the Japanese. But they perked up when they saw disfigured patients at the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital. They placed wreaths on the Hiroshima memorial, which bears the inscription: "Repose in peace, for this mistake shall never be repeated." The Soviet delegate told the assembled Japanese: "We sincerely desire that this disaster not be repeated and we would like to keep peace forever."

U. S. role. The only American participation in the conference was when the delegates heard a brief talk by Dr. Robert Holmes, the director of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission here.

"We had no debate, no controversy," Dr. Holmes said later. "We discussed the positive findings we have observed in A-bomb survivors—leukemia and cataracts. We discussed genetics. I explained we have not observed any genetic effects in the first generation whose parents were heavily exposed. I emphasized that this is only the first generation, it is not a prediction about the future."

But the Communist-line scientists ob-



—ABCC

HIROSHIMA: THE MEDICAL EVIDENCE
Scare stories got more attention

viously had no intention of being sidetracked by reports on actual findings. Their first press conference in Hiroshima produced such remarks as this:

Soviet delegate: "The atomic bomb on Hiroshima was not only a great destroyer of houses and persons, but even survivors who appear healthy possibly will show radiation injuries in the future. We should by all means try to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons."

British delegate: "It is sad to see what must have been a great city so utterly destroyed. [It has long since been rebuilt.] The people still needing treatment moved me to sadness."

Uganda delegate: "Soon it will be 10 years since the bomb was dropped, yet some are still suffering and it is possible that generations ahead may suffer. Medical science cannot cope with the atomic bomb. Let there be no more."

At the open sessions of the conference, the pro-Communist delegates sat together and seemed to operate as a team. In the beginning they did not harangue the other delegates with speeches about the dangers of radiation. But the questions they asked were calculated to produce political, rather than scientific answers from the Japanese scientists who presented most of the papers.

The delegate from Communist China, for example, pressed the Japanese for details of the genetic effects of radiation. The Japanese said their present information was insufficient to substantiate firm conclusions. Whereupon the delegate from Uganda took over:

"Genetic effects," he said, "are not a problem of the future, but a real one now. The sponsors of this conference wanted us to refrain from taking any political stand here. But it is our duty as medical men to arouse public opinion against the tests. I appeal to the authorities to legislate laws under which those producing bombs and testing them will be tried as murderers."

When the group got around to drafting its preliminary report, it went much further than the Japanese scientists have gone in assessing the genetic effects of radiation. The report was filled with such remarks as: "We ourselves saw a dying patient in Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital, the late result of radiation sickness."

Propaganda—not science. Actually, observers at the conference could find nothing in the preliminary report that is scientifically new. Far better reports have been made by the Japanese themselves and by the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission.

But the Communist delegates handled things so that the conference produced a full quota of scare stories about radiation and the "evils" of U. S. nuclear tests —which seems to have been their main purpose in coming here.

A FACTORY in E. Providence, R. I.
for St. Regis Paper Company
Architects: Alexander D. Crosett and Associates
Builder: Turner Construction Company, a user of Dodge Reports

A CHURCH in Lima, Ohio
Market Street Presbyterian Church
Associated Architects: Charles Frederick Cellarius, F.A.I.A. Strong, Strong and Strong
General Contractor: Robert Miller, a user of Dodge Reports

Whatever you have to sell . . . to those who build factories, churches, schools, hospitals . . . or houses . . . or engineering projects

there's one best way to sell them

use

Dodge Reports

When you use Dodge Reports your salesmen can concentrate on face-to-face negotiation with prospects you *know* have current needs for what you have to sell.

Find out how these specialized Dodge Reports services can help your salesmen

1. conserve their selling time
2. cover more of today's market
3. save sales expense for you

Send coupon *today*. See how actual opportunities in your marketing area are reported in Dodge Reports.

F.W. DODGE CORPORATION

Timely, accurate, daily construction news service in the 37 eastern states

F. W. Dodge Corporation, Construction News Division
Dept. U555 119 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Please let me see some typical Dodge Reports on current selling opportunities in my marketing area. Our stake in the business is in—

- ☐ House construction
- ☐ General construction (not houses)
- ☐ Engineering construction

Name .....

Company .....

Address .....

THE MAN ... Joseph Dodge

THE NEWS ... Ike's Trouble Shooter

—Harris & Ewing

A New Number to Call To Get a Decision

There's a new man to see at the White House to get things done—Joseph Morrell Dodge. He can overrule Cabinet officers, make big decisions, rapidly is becoming Ike's top man in planning.

JOSEPH MORRELL DODGE is a quiet, firm man, skilled in the art of getting things done without noise. A friend once said of him that you don't know what he is doing until he has it done.

Eight months ago, Mr. Dodge returned to Washington to work out the answers to a special problem for President Eisenhower. He borrowed a desk, borrowed secretaries, talked with hundreds of people. For weeks, only a select group knew he was in town.

Now, it develops, Mr. Dodge is a top policy maker and trouble shooter in the Eisenhower Administration. He has a clear channel to the President, goes in and out of Mr. Eisenhower's office at will. He catches problems on their way to the President and works out the answers before they are needed. He can make or break policies, overruling Cabinet officers and agency heads.

A point has been reached where virtually every department or agency has felt Mr. Dodge's touch somewhere along the line. More and more people believe that he is the man to see if they want to get something done. He searches out trouble spots. There are few Cabinet officers or presidential aides who would venture to ask the President to change a decision made by Mr. Dodge.

Ostensibly, Mr. Dodge works in the field of foreign affairs. He is the President's boss of "cold war" tactics and strategy. His title is Chairman of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy. In this area, he is the top spokesman for President Eisenhower. But there are other aspects of his work that stretch over into the domestic field.

How it happened. Here's the way all this came about:

Toward the end of 1954, President Eisenhower became convinced that the real test of the Government in the cold war was to be in the area of foreign economic policy. He took a look at the mechanism for handling this policy and found it to be pretty much of a tangled mess, with a dozen different departments and agencies dealing with assorted aspects of the problem.

Mr. Dodge was out in Detroit, working at his job as head of The Detroit Bank. As Budget Director for Mr. Eisenhower, he had been the first member of the President's team to go to work in Washington after the 1952 election. He had an intimate knowledge of the Government in every department.

Moreover, in addition to his broad background of private and public work in the price and financial field, Mr. Dodge had a considerable understanding of foreign problems. He had been shuttling in and out of Government for 12 years, under three Presidents. For the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, he had handled tough price and financial jobs in World War II. For Harry S. Truman, he had helped to put Germany and Japan on their feet after the war and had worked at an Austrian peace treaty. He had a reputation for getting things done. And he is a Republican.

For the second time in his own Administration, Mr. Eisenhower called Mr. Dodge to Washington and asked him to examine the tangle in economic policies and see if he could make anything of it. Mr. Dodge agreed to see what he could do.

—USN&WR Photo

IN THE CENTER OF THINGS: MR. DODGE . . . with Secretaries Humphrey (left) and Wilson

The State Department had an obvious interest in foreign policy. The Agriculture Department was trying to get rid of farm surpluses abroad. The Commerce Department handles foreign-trade matters. The Foreign Operations Administration had dozens of activities going. There were the National Security Council, international banks and other agencies going their separate ways. The Treasury had to pick up the tab for gifts and loans and guarantees around the world. To a banker with a neat mind, this seemed like a poor way to do business.

U. S. control point. Mr. Dodge came up with a proposal for a Council on Foreign Economic Policy. It would be America's control point for cold-war weapons, tying together all of the various programs. It would have as members the top spokesmen for the principal

(Continued on page 70)

Speed products to Eastern markets . . .

one day faster!

via New York Central "Early Birds"

PRODUCE SHIPMENTS from the Southwest routed New York Central's "Early Birds" through the St. Louis gateway, are on sale at New York and Boston markets the 5th night out of Texas.

Carloads of fresh fruits, vegetables and processed foods from the Far West are quickly put together into "Early Birds" at Chicago or St. Louis gateways. They make the whole run from California to New York in only 7 days. That's because the "Early Birds" make Chicago to New York in as little as 22 hours.

All types of products get to market at *express-speed*, sure and safe, when shipped by "Early Bird" service—at no extra cost. They ride the rails of New York Central's well-maintained, smooth, water-level route, stopping only for change of crews and re-icing. A saving of one day in reaching Eastern markets means goods are fresher on arrival. Early delivery means better prices, more profits for shipper and consignee.

Through Service • All-Weather Schedules

7 "Early Birds"—Tuesday through Sunday. 5 on Monday.

Dependable, on-time scheduled departures: Chicago to New York—twin trains—one morning, one evening . . . Chicago to Boston . . . Chicago to Buffalo . . . Cleveland to New York . . . Cleveland to Boston . . . Cincinnati to New York . . . Cincinnati to Boston . . . Detroit to New York . . . Detroit to Boston . . . East St. Louis to New York . . . East St. Louis to Boston . . . Indianapolis to New York . . . Indianapolis to Boston . . . Peoria to New York . . . Peoria to Boston.

Your nearest New York Central Freight Representative can save you time, dollars and details in scheduling your freight on an "Early Bird."

Here's how you lower distribution costs by shipping freight via "Early Bird"

- Quicker turnover of merchandise
- Reduction of inventories and warehouse requirements
- Less capital and interest tied up in goods
- Lower cost of insurance
- Less waste of perishable commodities
- Shipments arrive in excellent condition
- One less icing for reefers

New York Central System

The water-level route of fast, dependable freight service

GENERAL OFFICES: 466 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

"The whole thing in that one box?"

Precisely. Customer of ours packs these handsome double dressers (disassembled, of course) in this compact corrugated H&D box, ships them as far away as South America without a scratch.

Smart packaging. Freight costs and packing time are cut; the product gets ample protection. What more can you ask of a shipper? And why ask less? For a happy solution to your own packaging problem, drop us a line.

HINDE & DAUCH

AUTHORITY ON PACKAGING • SANDUSKY, OHIO
13 FACTORIES • 40 SALES OFFICES

Dodge can overrule Dulles or Humphrey . . .

agencies that make decisions and policies in this field. No foreign program could budge without the approval of this agency.

The President liked the idea. Then, as frequently happens to men who work out a plan for dealing with a problem, the job of making the mechanism work was put into Mr. Dodge's hands. The whole operation was put under the White House roof. Mr. Dodge was to run it. And he was not only to deal with present problems, but to get out his spyglass, see if he could glimpse the new ones as they appeared—and prepare plans for dealing with them.

Mr. Dodge, at about the time he had talked his way out of the job as budget officer and gone back to Detroit in mid-1954, had been quoted as saying of Washington: "It's like being taken by the scruff of the neck and thrown into a basket of snakes." Mr. Eisenhower was dumping him back into the basket.

Mr. Dodge became Chairman of the new Council and was designated as a special assistant to the President. He kept his job as board chairman of The Detroit Bank. In Washington, he works for $50 a day, manages to get back to Detroit two or three days a month.

The Council is composed of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce, the Director of FOA—an agency now being liquidated—several members of the President's economic staff and a few other experts.

Operations secret. Mr. Dodge thinks of the Council as a strictly advisory body on foreign-policy matters. All of its operations are secret. It meets once a week. But it is becoming an active, working agency with more influence in shaping the course of America abroad than any individual. As Chairman of the Council, Mr. Dodge is in a position to overrule both Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey.

When Mr. Dodge fails to steer the Council to a unanimous agreement, reports presenting the conflicting points of view are put before the President. This does not happen often. Mr. Dodge is noted as an arbitrator of differences. He has a knack for bringing men together. Moreover, knowing the reliance that Mr. Eisenhower places on Mr. Dodge's judgment, the Council usually adopts his proposals without much conflict.

The work of Mr. Dodge—and his influence—does not stop at the water's edge, however. Nowadays, foreign affairs have a way of creeping into all sorts of domestic matters. This is bringing the hand

. . . Things are humming at the White House

of Mr. Dodge into all the departments and agencies in Washington.

Two things are tending steadily to build Mr. Dodge into the most powerful man near the President. First is his intimate knowledge of finances and economics, gained as a private banker and as budget officer for the Government. Second is the degree of confidence that the President places in him. Mr. Eisenhower feels that he always can trust Mr. Dodge to give a candid opinion. He knows that Mr. Dodge would much rather be outside the Government than in the middle of it.

Thus, the work of Mr. Dodge piles up. He attends meetings of the National Security Council, in addition to those of his own agency. He goes to Cabinet meetings when he wishes. He keeps in touch with special interdepartmental groups on money and surplus farm products. He gets the agenda and minutes of other meetings. Rarely does a day pass that he does not have three or four Cabinet officers or their aides in his office for a conference.

Open door to President. Few know how often Mr. Dodge sees President Eisenhower. The door to the executive office always is open to him. His name is left off the list of White House callers. Sometimes, he will see the President half a dozen times in a week. He talks with the President by telephone. Now and then, they get together at night.

One official says that things began to hum when Mr. Dodge took hold of White House problems, that he now makes decisions that used to go to the front office. Officials know that when they get a telephone call from him it means business, that when they put a problem up to him they will get a decision. Disagreements among Cabinet officers are as likely to wind up before Mr. Dodge as before the President. The top men in Government have come to rely upon this calm, quiet banker for action.

A reputation for getting things done has gone with Mr. Dodge ever since he concluded his formal education with graduation from high school and went to work in 1909 as a bank messenger. He has come up through the ranks in banking and knows his field intimately. A dozen years of work for the Federal Government has given him an intimate grasp of its affairs.

These are the reasons why, without pushing people around and stepping on sensitive toes, Mr. Dodge has moved into a place of power so easily that very few knew he was coming before he was there.

WHERE INDUSTRY ROLLS OUT THE BARRELS

St. Louis

A Great Place to Do Business

Hospitality is big business in St. Louis . . . home of the world's biggest brewery, producer of the world's largest selling beer. This brewery . . . plus three other major breweries with "home" offices and plants in St. Louis . . . produce over 8 million barrels of beer annually to make St. Louis rank third nationally in beer production from a central source . . . St. Louis, nearest major city to the U. S. center of population, is at the *center of activity* in business.

. . . with a Great Bank to Help You!

Your association with First National Bank in St. Louis not only speeds your business transactions . . . it identifies you, as well. And with information provided by First National—whose directors hold key positions in St. Louis business—you'll find it's easier to plan ahead. First National is at the *center of activity* in St. Louis!

Inquiries are cordially invited. Address the Industrial Service Department.

1ST
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK IN ST. LOUIS

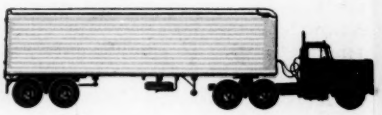
FIRST NATIONAL BANK in ST. LOUIS

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

In 1952 . . . in 1953 . . . and again in 1954 . . .

Cummins Diesels

new trucks



makes of

CUMMINS . . . 50.1%

Diesel "X" . . . 23.7%

Diesel "Y" . . . 23.4%

All others 2.8%

percentage breakdown of total engines sold to diesel truck buyers in 1954 from new truck registration figures of R. L. Polk Co.

power more than all other diesels combined!

In 1954, for the third straight year, Cummins Diesels powered over half of all diesel trucks sold. Year after year, more and more truckers agree that Cummins is the best engine money can buy!

Here are a few of the Cummins exclusive features: unmatched fuel economy; simplified fuel system; low engine weight per horsepower; high mileage between overhauls.

When you specify Cummins, you *know* you're getting the most advanced diesel research, design, and engineering. Genuine Cummins parts and factory-type service are easily available at nearly 200 maintenance points in the U.S. and Canada.

CUMMINS diesels give you the big plus **MORE PROFIT**

Cummins Engine Company, Inc., Columbus, Indiana

Leader in rugged, lightweight, high-speed diesels—60 to 600 horsepower
—for automotive, industrial, and marine applications

Friends of U. S. Speak Out

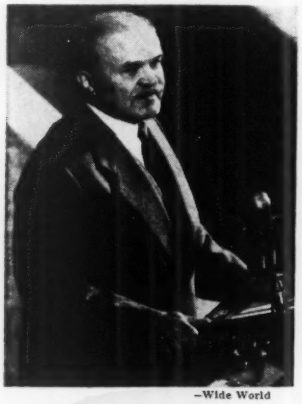
"Cold War" Flares Again—

NEW "PEACE" TERMS, SOVIET STYLE

SAN FRANCISCO

In a single speech that was supposed to commemorate peace and the United Nations, Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov did these things:

- Used the vast facilities of the American press, radio and television to insult the U. S. and to advance the cause of Communist propaganda.
- Threw a dash of cold water on world hopes for some tangible results from the July 18 "summit" conference of the Big Four—U. S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union.
- Made clear that the Kremlin is interested in "peace" or "peaceful coexistence" strictly and solely upon its own terms.
- Put a new chill in the "cold war" that had been showing signs of thawing.



—Wide World

MR. MOLOTOV

Mr. Molotov's use of a United Nations anniversary meeting as the launching site for his blast of Soviet propaganda touched off a reaction from two friends of the U. S.—Cuba's Dr. Emilio Núñez Portuondo and the Philippines' Carlos P. Romulo.

In a preliminary tussle, with Chairman Eelco van Kleffens of the Netherlands trying to rule them out of order, the two delegates managed to get on the record the story of Soviet conquest and Communist troublemaking during the postwar years.

The Molotov speech, the exchange that followed as friends of America answered the Communist spokesman, the addresses of France's Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay and U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, all are given to you in the record that follows. You get, too, a speech by Harold Macmillan, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, outlining the British position on some key issues of foreign policy.

It was the speech of the Soviet Foreign Minister that changed the pace of the United Nations tenth-anniversary celebration. He set forth the "line" for Communist forces to follow in the period ahead.

The tactics used by Mr. Molotov surprised the major Allied powers at San Francisco—but it fooled none of them. Almost as soon as the Soviet diplomat finished speaking, Mr. Pinay remarked:

"It is always the same thing—we are the bad ones and they are the good ones. We want war and Russia wants peace."

Terms laid down by Mr. Molotov as the Soviet Union's price for peace are these:

- Military bases on foreign territory—meaning the U. S. bases abroad—must be dismantled.
- Foreign troops must leave Germany—which means that U. S. divisions would draw back across the Atlantic to America, while Soviet troops would simply cross the German border and stay in Poland.
- Blocs and alliances must be given up—which means dissolving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and other U. S. defense commitments with allies.
- Trade restrictions must go—which means removing limits on the shipment of strategic materials to Communist nations.
- "Cultural ties" must be developed—which means U. S. and allies would have to give Communists wider opportunity to peddle the party line.
- The Formosa issue must be settled on Moscow's terms—which means giving it to Communist China.
- Communist China must be admitted to membership in the United Nations.
- Atomic war must be banned—which means giving Russia a veto over Allied atomic weapons.
- Disarmament must follow the Soviet blueprint —which means limiting military manpower through a formula that would give the Communist world a permanent numerical advantage.

The Molotov speech showed the U. S. and its allies exactly what they can expect from the Soviet "peace offensive" which Moscow has been pushing on all fronts in recent weeks. The Communist goal of world domination remains unchanged.

Molotov Tips Kremlin's Hand

WHAT RUSSIA'S MOLOTOV TOLD THE UNITED NATIONS

SAN FRANCISCO

Following is the full text of the speech in which Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov set the Communist price for world peace. This address was delivered before the tenth-anniversary meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco on June 22, 1955:

Mr. President, fellow delegates:

I would like to begin by expressing on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union our sincere appreciation to Mr. Robinson, the mayor of San Francisco, for the hospitality accorded to us in this marvelous city.

We are now observing and commemorating the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. That is an important date in history.

Millions upon millions of men and women throughout the world will follow particularly closely everything that will be said here during these days regarding the preceding period in the work of the United Nations.

The United Nations came into being during the second World War. Its foundations were laid when hostilities were still in progress in many countries of Europe, on the broad expanses of Asia and in the Atlantic and the Pacific, when the greater part of mankind was drawn against its will into a war unprecedented in scope and in the destruction it brought in its wake.

It was then that the renowned anti-Hitlerite coalition was formed with the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain at its head, a coalition that inspired the selfless struggle for liberation waged by the nations that had been attacked by the fascist invaders and had fallen upon dire times.

In the course of the war sound and amicable relations arose between the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The impending menace of fascist enslavement drew these countries closer together. The same impulse brought them together to form the United Nations for the purpose of jointly defending international peace and security after the war.

The foundations of the organization were laid by the declaration of the four powers on international security signed in Moscow on Oct. 30, 1943, by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the U. S. A., Britain and China.

The work culminated here in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, when the United Nations Charter was signed after having been thoroughly and carefully considered at the first United Nations conference.

The United Nations Charter begins by declaring that the peoples of the United Nations are determined "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind."

"To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" —that is the first and foremost objective of the United Nations. The peoples face no greater task than to prevent another World War. And the United Nations have no greater purpose than to secure peace, friendship and co-operation among the peoples.

We should all bear that in mind and be aware of the enormously important tasks facing the United Nations. That constitutes our supreme duty.

We should not, however, close our eyes to the facts.

We should not ignore the fact that present-day international relations are marked by considerable tensions, which are aggravated periodically by propaganda for a new war. And, in particular, we should not lose sight of the fact that any further increase in tension would constitute a threat to peace and would give rise to the danger of a new war.

Some countries have of late become the scene of an unprecedented armaments race that lays on the masses of the people an enormous burden of military expenditure. Also in progress is the constant stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and the dangerous consequences of this situation constitute a natural cause for public alarm.

Large-scale construction of military bases is going on in foreign territories. That these bases are being built up for purposes having nothing to do with defense can be deduced from the mere fact that they are to be found thousands of miles away from the countries constructing them. Can that be regarded with equanimity by the states in proximity to which the military bases are being built, or, for that matter, by those on whose territories the bases are located?

New military blocs and alliances are constantly being formed in Europe, in Asia and in other parts of the world. Of late, attempts are being made by all means to draw into these military groupings against the will of their peoples the small countries of the Near and the Middle East. That these military alliances are spearheaded against certain other states is obvious, and this is indicative of their aggressive and imperialist character. Things have reached such a pass that agreements have been concluded to remilitarize Western Germany and integrate her into military groupings the aggressive character of which is well known. These blocs and alliances in their turn inevitably lead to the formation of defense alliances on the other side.

If propaganda for a new war, which has of late developed into ominous propaganda for precisely an atomic war, should continue unabated in some countries; if the armaments race should become intensified as well as the building of military bases designed not for defense but to attack other countries; if the forming of military groupings directed against other states should continue as heretofore, then international tensions would increase still more. To continue along that path means to drive headlong for the third World War.

That being so, can the fact be ignored that people throughout the world do not want another war, that they would pass severe condemnation on the attacker, that is to say on those who should unleash a new World War?

Is this not borne out by the ever-growing popular movement throughout the world designed to prevent a new war and to oppose uncompromisingly any attempt by the aggressive forces of imperialism to precipitate a new world slaughter? There can be no doubt that, this being the state of affairs, and subject, of course, to the peace-loving countries being properly prepared for self-defense, the attacking side

. . . Molotov: "Present state of affairs far from satisfactory"

responsible for unleashing a new war would be resolutely condemned as an aggressor and would be totally isolated, morally and politically, in the eyes of the whole world, a fact that would predetermine its inevitable defeat.

On the other hand, one cannot fail to notice the numerous facts which now show that there are in existence reliable paths leading to lasting peace and the consolidation of friendship among nations.

Mention should be made of some of these facts.

On the Korean Armistice

Two years have already elapsed since the war in Korea was terminated upon the initiative of the peace-loving countries. The Korean armistice opened the way for the settlement of the Korean problem by peaceful means. The Koreans from the North and South should now be helped to re-establish Korea's national unity in accordance with the will of the Korean people.

Last year at the Geneva Conference an end was put to the war in Indo-China on a basis which in general conforms to the aspirations for national liberation of the peoples living in that part of the world. The significance of the Geneva agreement can be gauged by the mere fact that this agreement has met with approval on the part of the peoples of Asia. It has also been received with proper understanding in Europe and throughout the world.

A month or so ago the state treaty with Austria was signed. At the same time it was agreed that Austria shall not allow the building of foreign military bases on her territory, shall not enter into any military groupings and shall become a neutral state similar to Switzerland. The Soviet Union's initiative to that end met with appropriate support on the part of the other powers concerned and, what is particularly important, on the part of Austria herself. As a result the talks led to the settlement of yet another important international issue in Europe.

A most important recent event has been the settlement of relations between the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia which took place during the stay in Belgrade of the delegation representing the Government of the U. S. S. R. The improvement of relations achieved as a result of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks meets with the deep-rooted desires and fundamental interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. That development, moreover, contributes largely to the political *détente* in Europe and to that consolidation of universal peace.

In this connection reference should be made to the groundless inventions circulated in the West to distort the meaning and to belittle the significance of the Belgrade talks and of their results. It should be emphasized that the agreement to improve and develop friendly relations between the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia which found its expression in the joint declaration is determined not by any transient considerations, but by the realization that such relations have the utmost importance both for the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia and for the reduction of international tensions and the establishment of the necessary trust among nations.

A particularly noteworthy event is the visit to the Soviet Union of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru. That visit has great importance for cementing further the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and also for reducing international tensions and consolidating peace.

The facts I have cited, together with a number of other facts, show that the policy of reducing international tensions pursued by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations is yielding further positive results.

There can be no doubt that the Soviet Government's proposal to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the German Federal Republic and the invitation extended to Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow for talks meet the same purpose. At this point, mention should be made of the fact that between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic good relations were established at the very outset, and that on the basis of these relations political, economic and cultural co-operation is being constantly and ever more successfully developed.

Talks have also been initiated in London for the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The conference of the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France is to take place in the latter part of July. That conference shall have great importance if all its members show a genuine desire to ease tensions in international relations, to settle outstanding issues and to consolidate peace.

As for the United Nations, it must be pointed out that that organization has come to occupy a definite and important place in international life, and that its work has its positive aspects. Some of the discussions there on international problems relating to the maintenance of peace and security helped to rally public opinion in the fight against the threat of another war and for the reduction of international tensions.

We should note, in particular, the great significance of the decisions adopted in 1946 on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments and also the decision outlawing war propaganda adopted in 1947. It will be recalled, also, that in 1954 the General Assembly adopted a unanimous resolution on the terms of reference of the disarmament commission.

But in pointing to the achievements of the United Nations we must not reconcile ourselves to the present state of affairs, which is far from satisfactory. In any case the United Nations must not become either a passive recorder of international events or an instrument to be used by this or that group of powers for their narrow purposes.

The U. N. and "Human Rights"

The United Nations attaches major importance to the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion, and it is known to be guided by the following basic principles: equality and self-determination of nations; international collaboration and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states; settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; refraining from the threat of force in international relations. These principles, having been recognized by all the United Nations, provide a good basis on which to defend peace and international security and to strive for the development of international collaboration. All this shows that the United Nations Charter clearly recognizes the principle of co-existence and peaceful co-operation between states representing different social and economic systems. It is also clear that co-existence is inseparable from the task of strengthening mutual trust among nations, of putting an end to the "cold war" and the arms race and of developing international economic co-operation on a wide scale.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied that the United Nations is inconceivable without the recognition and implementation of the principle of coexistence and joint settlement of international affairs by countries with different social structures, and this finds most vivid expression in the Charter provisions relating to the Security Council.

. . . Molotov: "We should pass from words to deeds"

It remains for me to recall that the Charter's rule of unanimity for the five great powers in resolving in the Security Council important matters relating to the maintenance of international security was adopted on the initiative of the United States Government. The U. S. Government first presented that proposal—which does it credit—on July 18, 1944, to the conference of the representatives of the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A. and Britain at Dumbarton Oaks.

However, those who pay lip service to the principle of peaceful co-existence sometimes tend to violate that principle flagrantly in practice.

"The Example of China"

The example of China is a case in point. The indisputable rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations have not yet been re-established. Whatever explanations may be offered for this abnormal state of affairs, the real reason for the violation of China's rights is clear to all. Merely because the People's Democratic revolution triumphed in China and the Chinese people embarked upon the building of socialism, the Chinese People's Republic is still deprived of its rightful place in the United Nations. The situation is obviously unjust and unlawful. This unlawfulness can no longer be tolerated without undermining confidence in the United Nations. The Chinese People's Republic must without further procrastination be accorded full possibility to have its representatives both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. It must not be forgotten that the country in question has a population of 600 million and that one out of every four people living on this globe is a Chinese.

Nor can we ignore the dangerous situation that has developed in the Far East, in the area of Taiwan [Formosa] and the islands along the mainland of China. It is a well-known fact that the island of Taiwan, the Pescadores and the coastal islands form an integral part of Chinese territory, as recognized in a number of international agreements. The United Nations must not reconcile themselves to the fact that this integral part of China's national territory has not yet been returned to China, and it is the duty of the organization to take appropriate steps to have that important problem settled at the earliest possible date.

An important international conference was recently held in Bandung on the initiative of several Asian countries. Twenty-nine Asian and African nations took part. The fact that they represented different social and political systems did not prevent the Conference from working in harmony. All the decisions at Bandung were adopted unanimously, and the purpose of these decisions was to consolidate peace and friendship among nations, to secure their freedom and independence and to intensify the struggle against colonialism. All this meets the interest of every peace-loving state. In this connection, we must note the importance of the fact that the Conference was attended by countries such as India, Indonesia and others. The significance of China's participation in the Conference is clear in everyone's mind.

At Bandung the principle of peaceful coexistence again received wide recognition. This was again not merely for those participating in the Conference but also for other nations and the cause of peace in general.

What is obviously needed is something more than just verbal recognition of the principle of coexistence and peaceful co-operation between countries with different social structures. In our day hardly anyone would venture to deny that principle openly. The warmongers enjoy no confidence and no credit nowadays.

What we are all interested in today is not merely that certain principles be recognized or proclaimed but that concrete action be taken to serve the cause of maintaining and cementing international peace and security.

This being so, we must stress the importance of the Soviet Union's well-known proposal regarding the setting up of a system of collective security in Europe. The Soviet draft on the subject is designed to ensure, with the participation of the United States, peace and security for all the countries of Europe irrespective of differences in their social structure. This brings out the fundamental difference between this draft and the closed military groupings which were formed in recent years in contradiction to the basic principles of the Charter and which led to a further aggravation of international tensions.

That proposal of the Soviet Government expresses the essence of the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy directed towards establishing collective security instead of opposing military blocs. The Soviet Government's proposal "on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war," presented in London on May 10 to the subcommittee of the disarmament commission, should be viewed in the same light.

It will be recalled that through the efforts of the peace-loving nations it proved possible recently to stop the bloodshed in Korea and Indo-China, a fact which largely helped to create conditions conducive to the settlement of other outstanding international issues. However, it should not be forgotten that the situations which still exist in some parts of Europe and Asia are giving rise to serious public concern. The primary obstacle to the settlement of outstanding international issues is lack of the requisite trust among nations. This is particularly true of the great powers which bear primary responsibility for the maintenace of peace and international security.

The world has for a number of years been in a state of cold war and the burden of military preparations has been falling ever more heavily on the shoulders of the peoples. Only the termination of the cold war among nations could contribute to the reduction of international tensions, the creation of the necessary trust in international relations, the removal of the threat of another war and the establishment of conditions conducive to a tranquil and peaceful life for the peoples. That being achieved, the necessary possibilities would be opened up for the implementation of a large-scale disarmament program with proper international controls.

All this means that we should pass from words to deeds and embark upon such steps as would lead to the establishment of the necessary trust among nations.

Russia Presents a Program

The first goals to be achieved are the following: implementation of the General Assembly's well-known resolution on the termination of war propaganda in all countries; agreement among the great powers to dismantle military bases in foreign territories; development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and large-scale industrial, scientific and technical assistance to countries which are less fully developed technically; agreement between the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A., Britain and France on the withdrawal of their forces from Germany, with the exception of small contingents to be temporarily left behind, and strict limitation of local police forces in both parts of Germany; settlement of outstanding far eastern problems in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity; removal

. . . Molotov: "Up to the U.S.A. . . . to make the next move"

of any discrimination hampering the development of wide-scale economic co-operation and international trade; expansion of international cultural ties through a wide exchange of delegations and the development of tourism.

Having made progress in the settlement of these important and urgent problems, we would largely facilitate the creation of an atmosphere of trust among nations. This would help create the necessary conditions for the implementation of the program of general reduction of armaments and the complete prohibition of atomic weapons with genuine international controls.

The proposal of the Soviet Union setting forth this program contemplated the gradual implementation of appropriate measures in two stages: The first stage provides for measures to be put into effect in 1956 while the second stage refers to measures planned for 1957.

Soviet Disarmament Proposal

The substance of the measures proposed is to be seen from the following:

First, about the conventional armaments.

All the proposals of the U. S. A., Britain, France and Canada on the reduction of conventional armaments have been incorporated in the Soviet draft of May 10 without any modification. That would mean that within the next two years the five great powers would have to reduce the strength of their armed forces so that they would not exceed the following figures:

U. S. A.—from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

U. S. S. R.—from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

China—from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

Britain—up to 650,000 men.

France—up to 650,000 men.

The Soviet Union further proposes that not later than the first half of 1956 a world conference be called to discuss the general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. It is suggested that the armed forces of other states be set at a level considerably below that of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The proposal for the reduction of conventional armaments is in full accord with the levels suggested by the Western powers. This being so, it can no longer be said that the Soviet Union, China and others would have any special advantages in conventional armaments as compared to the other powers. Any such objections should now be withdrawn.

It is up to the U. S. A. and other Western powers to make the next move. The U. S. S. R. having accepted in full their proposal in regard to conventional armaments, the Western powers have no reason to put off the settlement of the atomic weapons problem, and they should agree to renounce the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and to outlaw these weapons completely as suggested in the Soviet draft.

To have these steps taken on both sides would mean to contribute indeed to a *détente* in international relations and to the consolidation of universal peace.

The Soviet Government has also met the Western powers half-way on the question of atomic weapons.

The Soviet Government has accepted their proposal that prior to the complete prohibition of atomic weapons, nations should have the right to resort to those weapons for purposes of defense against aggression, it being understood that such action would be allowed only in exceptional cases and by decision of the Security Council. At the same time, the Soviet Government believes it necessary for the nations to assume a solemn obligation not to employ nuclear weapons and to consider themselves barred from using them. The Soviet Union expresses its willingness to assume this obligation if the countries possessing atomic weapons do so, too. Therefore, in this case also it is up to the other powers to make the next move.

The Soviet Government's draft of May 10 not only contains new proposals on the general reduction of armaments and the outlawing of atomic and hydrogen weapons but it also provides for certain specific measures relating to effective international controls over the implementation of the provisions in question.

According to our proposal, this shall be served by the establishment on a basis of mutuality of control posts in large ports, on railroad junctions, on highways and in the airports in all the countries concerned. These control posts shall be installed by the international control organ and their responsibility shall be to see to it that no dangerous concentration of land, air and naval forces takes place, in order to forestall any attack of one nation upon another. Furthermore, the international control organ shall have a system of inspection set up on a permanent basis. This inspection shall have in all the countries adhering to the appropriate convention its own staff of inspectors who at all times shall have unlimited access to the objects of control.

These are the basic proposals put forward by our country on the reduction of armament, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war. The Chinese People's Republic, obviously, should be a party to any discussion of these matters. The Soviet Government expects that other governments, too, will shortly state their views on all these matters.

Here in San Francisco we are among the American people. As the representative of my country I would like to stress the good feelings of the Soviet people for the people of the United States.

Everyone will agree that it depends largely on the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States to consolidate peace and security in order that trust and tranquility be secured in this world for many years to come. That is precisely what is desired by the Soviet people, who are confident that that is also the desire of the people of America.

Existing differences between governments can be resolved and the distrust that has arisen among nations should and can be dispelled if both the Soviet people and the Americans make the necessary efforts, without minimizing difficulties of the task and filled with the desire to safeguard peace and their national interest in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

"Basic Duties" of the U. N.

We are about to enter the second decade in the history of the United Nations. Today, as never before, the basic duties of the organization are to make peace secure and to prevent a new war. The sublime and noble task faced by the United Nations is to bring about a peaceful and tranquil life for the peoples of the world. It must and can work considerably better, more actively and more effectively, if we, the members of this most important of international organizations, see to it that the United Nations acts as much as possible in harmony with its great purposes and principles.

Certainly the experience of the first decade has reaffirmed in full the just and progressive character of the principles on which the United Nations is based. These principles

. . . Nunez Portuondo: "No record of conquest by Western powers"

must continue to be the immovable foundation stones of its activity.

And is it not fortuitous that these principles are, one way or another, finding expression in numerous international acts, including those not directly related to the United Nations? This is true, for instance, of the well-known five principles that last year formed the basis of a joint declaration by the Republic of India and the Chinese People's Republic. This is also true of the 10 principles adopted at the Conference of Asian and African countries and a number of other international acts.

The United Nations is also facing new tasks.

The time is ripe, for instance, to consider the question of calling a world economic conference to facilitate the development of international trade.

Only an authoritative international center like the United Nations would be capable of coping with the task of convening such a conference attended both by members and nonmembers of the organization.

All this goes to show that the work of the United Nations and its practical acts require a great deal of improvement. The experience accumulated through the years will, of course, prove valuable. Even more important is the growing realization of the need to raise to a higher level the activity of the United Nations as a whole in order that the activity may be in full conformity with the noble purposes and principles of the organization.

The United Nations can and should play an outstanding part in the efforts to cement peace. The United Nations should do all it can to put an end to existing international tension and to facilitate the achieving of mutual trust among the nations, an achievement which would meet the desires of the people for peace and for a tranquil and peaceful life.

Whatever the criticisms of the activities of the United Nations during the past years, and specifically some of its steps during the more acute international conflicts, there is no reason for us to underrate the importance of its existence and the usefulness of its further activities for the cause of peace and security.

We are now entering a new decade. The responsibility of the United Nations for the future of the nations, for peace and the welfare of mankind, has never been greater. Every act of the United Nations should be imbued with the realization of that high responsibility.

The Soviet Union is fully conscious of the place held in the United Nations by our socialist state.

The Soviet Union shall do all it can to support the United Nations in all its endeavors in order to bring about lasting peace and international security.

CUBA'S DELEGATE "TELLS OFF" MOLOTOV

SAN FRANCISCO

It was after the Molotov speech that Dr. Emilio Núñez Portuondo of Cuba took the floor and—with the help of Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines—brought out the record of Communist conquest.

Following are extracts from Dr. Núñez Portuondo's speech, including exchanges with Eelco van Kleffens of the Netherlands, the presiding officer who sought to cut off the discussion:

Dr. Núñez Portuondo: No impartial historian can deny the following facts, which are easily verified.

In recent years, the United States of America has voluntarily granted full and absolute independence to our sister republic of the Philippines, which is now represented here with us; and, as the result of a plebiscite, it has granted Puerto Rico the status of an independent and associated state.

The three great powers which were defeated in the late war, but were not occupied by the Soviet Union troops—namely, Western Germany, Italy and Japan—are entirely free, and have even applied for admission to the United Nations, although they have not been able to be admitted on account of the Soviet veto.

The United Kingdom has granted full independence to India, Pakistan and Burma, which are respected members of the United Nations; and to Ireland, Ceylon and Nepal, which have also applied for admission, but have been unable to obtain it because of the Soviet Union's veto. France has granted independence to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, and the Netherlands has given its full recognition to the Republic of Indonesia, which is also a member of our organization. On this side of the historical balance sheet there is no record of the conquest of one inch of land by the Western powers.

In the meanwhile, what has the Soviet Union been doing? It was not as Mr. Molotov has described it to us in his speech. Let us consider impartially the other side of the balance sheet. These facts, too, can easily be verified.

The Soviet Union has occupied and enslaved Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia against all right and reason—unless might is right. Against their peoples' will and with the assistance of resolute minorities well trained for the purpose, it has subjected to its rule many states—

The President [Mr. van Kleffens]: May I request the honorable representative kindly to refrain from what amounts to passing judgments on the acts of any individual member state. To do that—[*applause and cheers*]. Order, please—

Dr. Núñez Portuondo: I am not in agreement that the President tell me what I have to say here.

The President: —to do that is not the purpose for which we are meeting here.

Mr. Romulo: Mr. Chairman, yesterday you stopped the delegate of Syria. He took up only one controversial issue—colonialism. The delegate of Soviet Russia took up several controversial issues, and you—

The President: I want to make it quite clear that Mr. Molotov, as you have all heard, did not direct his remarks against any individual state in particular—

Mr. Romulo: He does not—

The President: Will you please let me finish?

Dr. Núñez Portuondo: The President did not show himself so energetic with Mr. Molotov because he let him say all those falsehoods that he told here this morning.

The President: I have not finished, sir. He gave a general survey as he sees it of the conditions in which the various areas of the world find themselves at the moment when we commemorate the signing of the Charter—

Mr. Romulo: You should have applied that to the Soviet Russian delegate.

The President: That is something completely different from what the honorable representative of Cuba is trying

. . . Nunez Portuondo: "Reds have enslaved 98 million humans"

to do when he passes judgment on acts of one state he singles out and on developments within other individual states.

Mr. Romulo: The Philippine delegation protests against—[*applause and cheers*].

Dr. Núñez Portuondo: They tried to do the same to South Korea as they had already done to North Korea and also to seize a province of Iran, although in the last two cases—thanks to the resolution and courage of the United Nations—the attempts failed. In Europe alone they have conquered 1,187,252 square kilometers [456,650 square miles] of foreign land, and they have enslaved 98 million human beings—

The President: It is profoundly disagreeable to me to interrupt any speaker, but I must tell the honorable representative, with every respect, that I must rule him out of order on this point.

[*Following is the section which the President refused to let the Cuban representative deliver:* "This does not include the 582 million inhabitants, according to the 1953 census, and the 9.7 million square kilometers of Communist China. For greater accuracy we should add the 21 million human beings included in the part of Indo-China which it has conquered and North Korea which represent an area of 53,591 square miles."]

The President: We are not here—I am sorry, but I have to repeat it—to debate acts of individual member states. I want to make the position of the chair quite clear on this point. I want to uphold, in conformity with the sense of the meetings as evidenced here last Monday, the position we took.

It is not for the chair to enter into the political expediency, at this juncture in the affairs of the world, of the remarks that have just been made. But the chair does have the duty to see to it that the character of these meetings be not altered. There are several organs of the United Nations in which attitudes of individual states do at times come in for criticism, and where, in order that they may defend themselves, there is room for statement, counterstatement, reply and rejoinder—in other words, for debate.

Here there are no such opportunities. This is not a place for debate. Each nation speaks once, and once only. The Soviet Union has already had its turn; there is no room for reply. It follows that criticism of, or attack against, individual states are out of order and cannot be allowed, and I must ask the honorable representative, with all respect to him and to the country he represents, to refrain therefore from what so obviously and so evidently, in form and in intent, was criticism of and attacks against specific acts of an individual member state.

I therefore wish to give as President, subject to the authority of this meeting, the following ruling from the chair.

—San Francisco Call Bulletin

THE "BIG FOUR" FOREIGN MINISTERS AT SAN FRANCISCO

L to R: Pinay of France, Molotov of Russia, Macmillan of Great Britain, Dulles of the U. S.

. . . Nunez Portuondo: "United States real champion of freedom"

I quote: "Attacks against, or criticism of, specific acts of individual states or groups of states are out of order here."

I now ask the honorable gentleman to be so good as to proceed.

Dr. Núñez Portuondo: Mr. President, when the delegation of Cuba received the invitation to speak to this assembly, in no way were we told that there were going to be later rules set down by the President telling us delegates representing sovereign states how to speak and what to say.

Mr. Molotov spoke of all the problems, present, future and past. He has referred specifically to one member of this assembly—to the Republic of China—saying that it had no right to be seated with us here, and, Mr. President, you did not call him out of order.

He painted a picture for us where he appeared with Picasso's dove of peace in one hand and the other nations as the aggressors, and that is not true to facts. That is why I felt that I had a right to state the truth here, because the voice of those subjected and enslaved people should be raised here by someone—the voice of those who are enslaved in their occupied countries that want also to enjoy peace.

But, sir, I shall bow to the ruling of the chair and I shall go on with what we might call a more palatable part of my statement.

The proposals to reduce world tension should be listened to with great pleasure in the peace-loving countries of the world, but we feel that we should not allow ourselves too many illusions about them, much less relax our defensive measures.

Up to the present, the sole aim of the Moscow Government's proposals appears to be to isolate the United States of America, the real champion of world democracy and freedom, from its natural allies. When there is talk of neutralizing Japan and Germany, as has already been done—understandably—with Austria, without the slightest suggestion of freeing the enslaved peoples, even with guarantees of their neutrality, it is quite evident that we are faced here with a maneuver to impose by force the ancient and immutable design of Russian world domination in the future.

We, the peace-loving peoples of the world, are constantly under threat of aggression—an aggression even more serious than armed attack.

In each one of our countries, to a greater or lesser extent, Communist parties are in operation with no other instructions but those received from the Kremlin. Their members—traitors to their own fatherlands—are given the task of helping to destroy the religious, moral and material values of our peoples.

Clearly, so long as the Soviet Union still maintains this machinery of aggression directed at other nations, no one, unless he is naïve in the extreme, can believe in the purity of the intentions underlying the Moscow Government's recent peace offensive.

The Cuban delegation feels that in the conversations to be held shortly with a view to achieving a better atmosphere of international coexistence, the need to ensure a situation consistent with the freely expressed wishes of the national majorities among the subjugated peoples cannot be forgotten.

History shows that agreement based on the recognition of injustice and *faits accomplis* repugnant to the world conscience are useless and short-lived. The concentration camps of slave workers which are an insult to civilization must also be abolished.

PINAY: FRANCE WILL STAND BY HER ALLIES

SAN FRANCISCO

France's Foreign Minister, Antoine Pinay, made it clear that the French are in the Western defense alliance to stay, despite the Soviet campaign to kill off the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Here is an extract from his United Nations speech of June 23:

Speaking of freedom, let us remember that it does always imply freedom from fear and from want.

Speaking of prosperity, let us not ignore the facts of our modern world which exact that the nations work in association and co-operation.

Whereas the division which tears the world apart has ceaselessly spread from Europe to Asia, it would be a dire illusion to hope to do away with mistrusts and insecurity by a new series of solemn statements. Through relentless action should we affirm our faithfulness to the principles of the Charter.

To reorganize the world on a peaceful basis, we must advance step by step through partial and gradual achievements. In the middle of the twentieth century, the real independence of the peoples is secured by the interdependence of states within freely accepted associations.

The organizations of Atlantic and European solidarity to which my country belongs have no other significance. In the present world relations, as long as a general and controlled disarmament has not become a reality, genuine security can be ensured only in the framework of regional agreements as provided for in the Charter. To be efficient, such agreements must include, in times of peace, machinery for military cooperation designed to bring about a collective reaction should an aggression occur.

Because such machinery was lacking, all collective-security arrangements failed between 1919 and 1939. I state it frankly and bluntly. My country is not prepared to abandon the security ensured to it by the Atlantic Organization. My country does not regard it as unfair that common defense arrangements be devised among allies and their implementation subjected to unanimous decision. It deems, on the contrary, that such arrangements offer the best guarantee for peace. Within the Atlantic Organization I know of no foreign military bases. I only know that common means are made available to serve a common peaceful idea.

The regional agreements in which France participates also include provisions guaranteeing the security of countries who are not parties to them. These provisions forbid all participating states, *de jure* and *de facto*, to embark upon any individual aggressive action. They contain articles on the limitation, publicity and reciprocal control of armaments.

A twofold guarantee therefore applies to security: It is guaranteed to all participants by the certainty of collective reaction in the face of aggression; it is guaranteed to all nonparticipating countries by the organically defensive character of the system as a whole and by the fact that separate action is made impossible.

It is not by such defensive treaties that international tension will be increased and divisions multiplied. It is not by such a tightening of bonds between allied peoples that

. . . Dulles: "U. N. activities hampered by abuse of veto power"

rapprochement between disunited peoples will be thwarted. On the contrary, these accords concluded on the regional level open the way for agreements to be concluded on the interregional level, with the same equality of duties and the same certainty of guarantees.

They may offer a solution to one of the main problems that divide East and West at the present time: the problem of the division of Germany. German unity must be re-established with equal security for all. We must rule out the misconception of a neutral Germany that might some day become an overarmed Germany, and also rule out the senselessness of a neutralized Germany, for a great people cannot indefinitely be subjected to a trusteeship.

We must, in my opinion, give a free Germany the choice of her being associated to a system of security, including reciprocal limitation and control of armaments.

Thus we must progress on the basis of the interdependence of nations towards the consolidation of peace.

DULLES SPELLS OUT U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated the U. S. position in his address to the United Nations meeting on June 24. Full text, as recorded during delivery:

Anniversaries can be both pleasant and useful occasions. This meeting is of that kind. We look backward and see much that was good. We look forward and see much of promise.

I

The United Nations has already shown that it is here to stay. One proof is the presence here of 37 Foreign Ministers who have come from all parts of the earth. Another proof is the fact that, since its founding, no member nation has sought to withdraw; and there is a long—too long—waiting list of qualified nations which want to become members.

This esteem for the United Nations is based on solid accomplishments.

In the political field, there have been moments of triumph, as when the United Nations enabled Iran to bring about withdrawal of foreign troops from its soil. And when it helped Greece to overcome the threat of Communist subversion. And above all when it saved the Republic of Korea by organizing collective defense.

In the field of non-self-governing territories, the United Nations, working through the Trusteeship Council and otherwise, improves the lot of many dependent peoples and brings them nearer to the Charter goal of self-government or independence.

Through its declaration of human rights, the United Nations holds aloft a standard which will lead increasingly to respect for the individual human being and his sacred God-given rights.

Through the Economic and Social Council, much is being done to improve the economic and social conditions of the less developed areas of the world.

We live in an atomic age. And members of the United Nations, responding to President Eisenhower's stirring proposal, are joining together to create an international agency which will harness for human welfare what was only a weapon of war.

Above and beyond concrete applications of the Charter principles is the all-pervading moral influence which the United Nations exerts. In fulfillment of the words of Arthur H. Vandenberg—a name never to be forgotten here—our General Assembly has become a "town meeting of the world," exercising a guiding and enlightening influence on the conduct of all nations.

These achievements explain why, throughout the world, the United Nations is held in high respect. As President Eisenhower said in his opening greeting to you, the United States takes pride in its loyal support of the United Nations in all these manifold activities which benefit mankind. That support has consistently been bipartisan under Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and now Eisenhower.

II

The vision of the founders was indeed a lofty one. They met, while war still raged, determined to save mankind from the scourge of future war. But the Charter they wrote does not call for peace at any price. The peace of the Charter is a peace of justice; it is a peace which will assure to all nations great and small the right to be genuinely independent; it is a peace which will enable all individuals, however humble, to enjoy their God-given right to freedom.

To attain these high goals, the Charter calls upon the nations to work together. Fellowship is indeed the essence of the Charter. No solitary effort could win for any nation the Charter's goals. Collective effort is needed to preserve freedom. Without collective strength despotism would have free rein; the rights of nations would be trampled under foot, and human beings would be made slaves.

The founders of the United Nations endowed the Charter with the flexibility needed to keep alive this concept of collective effort, a flexibility that these unpredictable times demand. A secure peace still eludes us. But that spirit of collective effort implicit in the Charter, if practiced in good faith and with creative will, can guide us toward that haven which is the ultimate goal of man—peace with freedom.

III

We all know that certain of the activities of the United Nations have been gravely hampered by the use—the abuse—of veto power in the Security Council. This has prevented the Security Council from discharging many of its intended functions. Also, the Security Council has never brought into being the security force which it was supposed to have and to command. The reason is that the member nations have not sufficiently trusted each other to make it practicable for them to unite their forces.

Fortunately, the framers of the Charter realized the limitations under which the Security Council might operate. They did not require the members to risk their future on a rigid, all-or-nothing proposition. They provided alternatives. Article 51 permits like-minded nations with common problems of defense to join together under the Charter for their collective protection against aggression. This right has been widely availed of by nations which trusted each other and which felt bound together by a sense of common destiny.

The first so to act were the 21 American republics. They had been closely associated for a century and a half. They knew each other, and they trusted each other. So, in 1947, they made their Rio Pact. It recognized that an armed attack against any American state was an attack upon them all.

. . . Dulles: "Austrian treaty should have been signed years ago"

Others followed in that way. There was the Brussels Pact of 1948; the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949; and the Manila Pact of 1954. Also, there are now the London and Paris accords of 1954, which bring about the beginning of Western European union, a union long dreamed of by men of vision and good will, but which, until now, has eluded human grasp.

Every one of these collective-security arrangements embodies the principles of the United Nations Charter, a principle which in turn derives from the teachings of all the great religions, that people have the right and the duty to help each other.

Every one of these arrangements gives each of its members much more security than it could have alone.

Every one of these arrangements also gives added security even to the nonparticipants. There is less armament, because multiplication of armament is avoided when the force that protects one is equally at the service of many. Also, the military power and facilities of a coalition tend to become distributed and are not within the control of any single nation.

In international affairs, as in domestic affairs, the sharing of power is the best safeguard against its abuse.

Power which is shared among a group of independent, sovereign nations cannot be used effectively unless the participating countries are in accord. Such accord would be totally unattainable except for the collective purpose of genuine defense.

Because collective security responds to the needs and the highest aspirations of mankind, it has thus been invoked by many nations.

The United States, which in 1914 and again in 1939 sought safety in neutrality, has now learned by that hard experience that security is best bound by collective arrangements which will deter aggression. We believe that the power which we possess ought to be made available for the protection of others, just as we desire the help of others for our own defense. So, the United States is today a party to mutual-security treaties which bind us collectively with the defense of no less than 44 countries. We are proud to have these multiple ties of trust, confidence and honor. In the United States they are sealed by overwhelming bipartisan support.

These systems conform to the Charter of the United Nations. They carry into effect the Charter ideal of fellowship. They operate under the principles of the Charter, and they are subject to the influence of this organization. They have attacked no nation; they have threatened no nation; and they thwart no nation that does not covet the land and peoples over which collective security stands guard.

IV

Out of the evolutionary process I describe, much good has come. Speakers who preceded me have referred to encouraging international developments, particularly some of recent months. Wars have been ended in Korea and in Indo-China; the Austrian state treaty has been signed; relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have improved; the Soviet Union seeks diplomatic and trade relations with the German Federal Republic; and peace talks have begun between the Soviet Union and Japan.

These are indeed significant developments. But in our rejoicing, let us not forget *why* they have occurred, or forget the sequence of events which have brought us to where we are. If we forget that, we will have lost the key to a future of peace and prosperity.

What has happened has happened because certain nations backed steadfastly the principles of the United Nations and backed them with a resolve that, if need be, carried with it blood and treasure.

Today, there is no longer fighting in Korea. But why? The reason is that 16 members responded to the call of the United Nations and fought the aggressor who had struck from the Communist North and almost immediately overran South Korea. After three years of bitter fighting, the aggressors were back at, or behind, their point of beginning. The aggression had failed. It has been made to fail. Then, and only then, did the aggressor accept an armistice and end the killing. It is indeed strange to hear this triumph of collective security now hailed as proof of the peace-loving character of the aggressor and its supporters. If they had had their way, we would today be commemorating the fifth anniversary of the demise of the United Nations.

Today, there is an armistice in Indo-China. It was negotiated a year ago at Geneva. But shortly prior to the Geneva meeting, several members of the United Nations made clear that continuance of the fighting would carry a threat to all of Southeast Asia and require consideration of collective defense within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

Today, there is an Austrian treaty. It is a treaty which could and which should have been made years ago. For nearly a decade Austria was deprived of its freedom and its economy was exploited by one of the occupying powers. During this period of travail, Austria's courage was sustained by the moral and material succor of friendly powers and by the backing of its hopes by action of the United Nations. In the long run, that combination prevailed to win a victory for justice.

Today, Yugoslavia is no longer the target of abuse. An orchestrated threat began in 1948, when Yugoslavia asserted its national independence and broke away from an alien yoke. During the next seven years Yugoslavia was helped militarily and economically by nations which differed from its government in almost every respect save one, namely, the right of Yugoslavia to be a truly independent, sovereign nation.

Today, the Soviet Union seeks diplomatic and economic relations with the German Federal Republic. That development comes after many years of hostility, during which the Federal Republic was given security and economic support by those who believe in the right of the Germans to have an independent existence under a government of their own choosing.

Today, there is a possibility of peace between the Soviet Union and Japan. Four years ago, in this very room, 49 nations signed the Japanese peace treaty, a treaty of reconciliation. I recall how, and many of you will also recall, how from this very platform, that peace was bitterly assailed and rejected by some. But now, as a result of the 1951 peace treaty of San Francisco, Japan has resumed a place of honor and dignity in the community of nations, so that some nations now seek peaceful relations which four years ago they spurned.

"Fellowship" and U. N. Charter

Throughout all these events, there runs a common theme, the theme of fellowship. Those who followed the principles of our Charter have helped each other and, by so doing, they have helped themselves.

Some say that what has now happened marks the beginning of a new era. And I believe that that can be. Certainly the United States, I pledge you, will do all that lies within its power to make it so. But we do not forget, we dare not forget,

. . . Dulles: "To end the 'cold war'—observe the U.N. Charter"

that some of those who now hail the recent developments are precisely those who sought for years to stop them.

It is not unprecedented to see men make a virtue of necessity. Today, the necessity for virtue has been created by a stalwart thwarting of efforts to subvert our Charter. And if we want to see that virtue continue, I suggest that it may be prudent also to continue what has produced it.

Steadfastness to principle and sacrifice for principle are the proven price of the good that we have won. It would be reckless to expect further good at any lesser price. To achieve peace with justice, peace with sovereignty for nations great and small, peace with respect for human beings without regard to class, all of that will require sustaining the effort, the sacrifice, the solidarity which have brought us where we are today.

V

Much has been accomplished, but much, much more, remains.

There exists the problem of German unification. For 10 years, part of Germany has been severed from the rest. That unnatural division of a great people constitutes a grave injustice. It is an evil which cannot be indefinitely prolonged without breeding more evil to plague the world.

In Eastern Europe are nations, many with a long and proud record of national existence, which are in servitude. They were liberated from one despotism only to be subjected to another, in violation of solemn international undertakings.

In Asia, there is a Chinese Communist regime which became an aggressor in Korea, for which it stands condemned by this United Nations. It promoted aggression in Indo-China, and has used force and the threat of force to support its ambitions in the Taiwan [Formosa] area. Recent developments, including the influence of the Bandung Conference, suggest that the immediate threat of war may have receded. Let us pray that this is so. But the situation in Asia remains one that cannot be regarded with equanimity.

Also, we cannot forget the existence of that apparatus known as international Communism. It constitutes a worldwide conspiracy to bring into power a form of government which never in any country, at any time, was freely chosen by the people, and which destroys the reality of independence. At Caracas, at the Caracas Conference, last year, the Organization of American States found that the activities of international Communism constituted alien intervention in the internal affairs of nations and were a threat to international peace and security. That threat should end.

Finally, there is the urgent problem of limiting the crushing burden of armaments. For many years the United States and its friends have sought to find ways to carry out the mandate of the Charter to reduce the diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. Nearly a decade ago, the United States made a proposal to internationalize atomic energy. This proposal was made by the United States when it was the sole possessor of this weapon. This unprecedented offer, if it had been accepted, would have prevented the present competitive production of these weapons of awesome destructive power. But it was rejected.

That proposal was subsequently followed up by new proposals for the control and regulation of armaments and the establishment of an international organ to supervise an honest disarmament program. These proposals, too, were spurned. But the Soviet Union recently indicated that it might be prepared seriously to consider the initiative which had been taken months before by other members of the United Nations disarmament subcommittee. Let us hope that these indications can be translated into concrete action making possible limitations of armament on a basis which is in fact dependable and not a fraud.

These are some of the problems that confront us as we face the future. They are problems which cannot be met if we shut our eyes to them, or if we are weak, or confused or divided. They are problems which can be met if we are faithful to the principles of our Charter, if we work collectively in fellowship to achieve their application and if in the future as in the past we are prepared to labor and sacrifice for the future as we have in the past.

The United States asks no nation to do what it is not prepared to do itself. Any nation, and I repeat, any nation that bases its actions and attitudes in international affairs on the principles of the Charter will receive the wholehearted cooperation of the United States.

Admittedly, the problems we face are not easy to solve,

—Wide World

Secretary Dulles (right) strolls with his luncheon host, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, outside the large estate (rear) rented by the Russians

and they will not be quickly solved. There is room for many honest differences of opinion. But the existence of hard, unsolved problems need not itself be a source of danger and hostility if the nations will bring to the common task the spirit of the Charter.

There is one extremely simple method of bringing to an end what is called the "cold war." It is this—observe the charter of the United Nations, refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in international relations and from the support and direction of subversion against the institutions of other countries.

. . . Macmillan: "In Malaya—subversion promoted by violence"

To bring the cold war to an end, seven points are not needed; this one is sufficient.

It is in that spirit that we shall next month be going to Geneva for a four-power conference, and we hope we shall find there that the spirit of which I speak is shared.

If so, we can find there new procedures, or at least develop a new impetus, which will help to solve some of these vast and stubborn problems that still confront us.

We shall not, at this four-power Geneva conference, assume to act as a world directorate with the right to determine the destinies of others. Good solutions do not derive from the illusion of omnipotence. We shall seek to find procedures such that all nations directly concerned in any problem can fully assert whatever rights and whatever views they have.

In other words, we shall try to carry to Geneva the spirit which has been generated here by this commemorative gathering of 60 nations. The sentiments which have been here expressed can inspire new strength, new determination and a new spirit of fidelity to the principles of the United Nations' founders.

In conclusion, I can do no better than to cite the pledge made here last Monday by the President of the United States:

"We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding and respect for others.

"So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace."

MACMILLAN: REDS' BIGGEST THREAT IS IN ASIA

SAN FRANCISCO

The British position on world problems raised by the Communists was outlined by Britain's Foreign Minister Harold Macmillan in a speech before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club on June 22, 1955. Following are extracts from his address:

In this divided world, there is going on today, whether we like it or not, a secular struggle between two ideologies—or, to use a simpler and better phrase, between two ways of life. Both you and we believe in the superiority of our own, and we have no fear of coexistence. That's really why we want Peace.

Apart from the disagreeable reflection that another war, fought on a nuclear basis, would probably destroy the greater part of the world. We believe that Peace is the greatest and most powerful force on our side.

We want Peace and, with Peace, Progress and Prosperity, because we believe that given the chance, the ideals of the free world will prove a stronger force than the fallacies of Communism.

In Europe there has been built, by our common efforts, a firm basis to preserve Peace and Freedom. The United States and Canada have joined with the United Kingdom and the nations of free Europe in that great organization which we call NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization].

We in the U. K., with your approval and help, have formed an even more intimate tie between the Western European countries, by which the old feuds between France and Germany are at last ended.

On all this side of the world we have many problems, but we have together built a firm foundation. We know what our strength is and we all know and agree as to how we can best use it to deter aggression and to negotiate for a genuine pacification.

In the Middle East, where a great part of the burden has fallen, from historic association, upon British shoulders, there is still a lot to be done. But, in spite of some difficult problems, I am confident of steady progress.

British and American policies are well co-ordinated to a common end. Our own recent settlements with Persia and Egypt have helped to strengthen the will and power to resist any aggression from without.

It is perhaps in Asia, with its vast populations and territories and its great natural resources, that the free world faces its greatest challenge today. Most of these countries have newly won their independence. Their political and economic systems are still in their infancy, and in many cases are still affected by the aftermath of the war. Their dominant emotion is still nationalism.

This is not to be wondered at. Moreover, nationalism up to a point is a good thing. I have never been particularly attracted by that strange type of person—I expect you have some of them here too—whose motto seems to be: "My country is seldom right and usually wrong."

But nationalism, like alcohol, should be taken in moderation—as a stimulant, not as a drug. Anyway, nationalism in Asia has often been the stooge and stalking-horse of Communism. These young countries need patriotism—but they need also to be protected from the blandishments of Communism masquerading as idealism.

For several years after the war, many parts of Asia have been torn by turmoil and confusion. The armistice in Indo-China put an end to a bitter and protracted military conflict. Now, nominally at least, the world is at peace—or, at least, not at war.

This settlement was admittedly a compromise peace, but it was the only way of avoiding a much greater conflagration. At the same time, by joining with the United States and other like-minded nations in the Manila Treaty, we have done our best to ensure that aggression will not be tempted by the prospect of an easy conquest.

You may say we have locked the stable door too late. I don't think so: There are still a few horses left in the stable.

At the moment, there is only one part of the world where subversion is being promoted by open violence, amounting to war. That is Malaya. There the Malayan Communist Party, 95 per cent of them aliens, have been waging a campaign of armed terrorism since 1948.

Since then the forces of the Malayan Government, combined with those of the Commonwealth, have killed or captured over 8,000 of the terrorists. The remainder have been driven deep into the jungle.

Between 1948 and 1951 some 100 people, civilians and soldiers, were being killed each month by the terrorists. In 1954, the figure was reduced to an average of 15 a month. The revolutionaries must now know that they have no hope of overthrowing the Government by force. But the strain of these seven years has been heavy.

We have lost over 4,000 civilians and soldiers killed or missing. The total cost of what, with our national gift for understatement, we call "the emergency," in this year alone will be over 200 million dollars. The terrorists are not yet at the

. . . Macmillan: "China trade is of benefit to us"

end of their tether. There are probably still about 4,000 of them in the jungle. They have recently turned their attention to the cities: to subverting political parties, trade unions and—most serious of all—to forming Communist cells in schools.

This attack is against the whole fabric of the social organization; it is the greatest obstacle to the early attainment of full self-government in Malaya, which is the declared purpose of the British Government. This is recognized by all the political leaders in Malaya, who have given their fullest co-operation in the campaign against terrorism.

But we recognize that the "shooting side" of the Malayan emergency is only part of the problem. The greater part lies in combating those conditions in which Communism can breed, and in offering an alternative to its specious attractions. To this end, while continuing the struggle against the terrorists, the Malayan Government have undertaken a wide range of economic and social measures.

And, in spite of all difficulties, a great stride towards self-government is being taken this year: Elections have already been held in Singapore, and in the Federation of Malaya, too, there will soon be elections which will give the country a legislature with a majority of elected members.

I have gone over this story in some little detail, because I think it should be known.

It's easy to repeat old sneers about British Colonialism. I sometimes hear them still—chiefly nowadays from the leftists in our two countries, the intellectual Bourbons who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing, and hope that those they write for or speak to haven't either. But ours is a fine record of guiding a people, in spite of all the difficulties of a community of different races, on the road to true democracy.

I spoke about elections in Malaya. Well, I've not heard of any elections in Communist-controlled territories—except the ones when 99.7 per cent of the people vote obediently for one party: the party of their masters. Dr. Gallup hasn't much of a look-in under Communism.

The threat to democratic freedom which we are fighting in Malaya faces all the countries of Asia today, to a greater or lesser degree. Each country must find its own answer. Neither you nor we want to impose our way of life, least of all a rigid copy of the methods of Western democracy, on the peoples of Asia. But what is essential is that the people must be free to make their choice in peace. This is their right. This we are determined to preserve for them, if we can.

Perhaps in the end the best way in which we of the West can help these countries is in the tremendous task of raising standards of living.

° ° °

Of course, it's true that, on certain Asian problems, there are points of difference.

° ° °

Anyway, don't let's exaggerate our differences. Sometimes I think they are exaggerated. They are, after all, not fundamental, but incidental; not of strategy, but of tactics; not of principle, but of method.

In all essentials about Communism and how to deal with it, we are at one with you. We assess the nature of a Communist regime, wherever it may be, very much as you do. We are equally determined with you to resist aggression wherever it may occur. Though our contribution in Korea was naturally not as large as that of the United States, yet in spite of our very wide commitments in other parts of the world and our strained resources, we did, nevertheless, make a substantial contribution and suffered also grievous losses. Likewise, we are with you in the Southeast Asia defense treaty.

This Korean war has been at once a story of frustration and of high achievement. We realize that. We understand well enough what anxieties and what sorrows have come to very many American homes. But this was the first real test since the war. It was the first time that aggression was challenged by the combined action of the United Nations.

I believe that history may well say that the turning points were: in Europe, the Berlin airlift; in the East, the swift and splendid action of the American people in leading the United Nations to call halt in Korea. Every bereaved home or sorrowing family in your great country and in mine should proudly take this comfort to their hearts.

Without these sacrifices, we might well be today far down the slippery slope of surrender, leading—as it always must do—to the final catastrophe of universal war.

Now may I speak frankly on one matter I would not like to be accused of skirting by or evading?

The British are often criticized for recognizing the Chinese Communists as the Government of China. Well, you may think we're wrong—but this is the way we look at it. You know, recognition of a government never used to be a sort of diploma or certificate of approval. I think rather a false diplomatic doctrine has grown up about all this in recent years. Your country and mine are in relations with many governments. We don't by any means approve of them all.

Oh, no! It wouldn't be diplomatic to mention them—but I expect we could easily think of one or two on the list!

All the same, we find it useful to send ambassadors and to have diplomatic relations with such governments. We do it, to be frank, to benefit ourselves, not to please them. This was the older doctrine and I think the right one. And the only test was that the Government should really be in actual control of the territory concerned.

That's why we recognized the Government in Communist China and sent a mission there. This may be the right or wrong view of what is expedient. But it's certainly nothing to quarrel about.

Why Trade With Red China?

And, of course, there are other complications which arise, and which tend to make trouble among friends. The British are also criticized in some circles for continuing to trade with China. We see no reason why we should not do so.

The trade is of benefit to us and to the free world as a whole, and indeed is very important to Hong Kong which naturally, from its geographical position, must have close economic relations with China.

It is quite untrue, however, to say that we furnish the Chinese with materials to build up their war production. We do not. We faithfully observe the United Nations embargo, and all British ships that trade with China must obtain a voyage certificate that they are not carrying embargoed goods.

Indeed, we are often criticized at home on just the opposite grounds—because our faithful observance of the embargo means that we are losing advantageous trade to competitors who are less scrupulous. Naturally, when we have made engagements, we stick to them.

Then there is the question of the Formosa Strait. We have fully understood your broad position with regard to Formosa itself, and the obligations of honor and security which are involved. We have not disguised our view regarding the small coastal islands. But, like you, we have constantly urged that this whole problem should be settled by negotiation and not by force. Like you, we welcome any relief of tension as a step towards that end.

We've Been Asked:

HOW DRAFT LAW IS CHANGED

- Young men of draft age will soon find some changes in the operation of Selective Service.
- But, despite these changes, thousands of youths will still have to go into military service in much the same way as in the past.

Just what has Congress done about the Draft Act?

Congress has now voted to extend the Draft Act for four years. That means that the draft will continue to be a matter of concern to young men until at least 1959.

Are there any big changes made in the draft?

No big over-all changes are made in the general framework of the draft, but there are some changes that will be of importance to a number of people. The general draft age remains from 18½ to 26; but the rule under which some men who have been deferred are liable for induction up to the age of 35 is altered by the new program as worked out by a conference committee of the House and Senate. This affects the draft outlook for some youths.

What is this new rule on induction of men who have been deferred?

This change affects a rather large number of youths who volunteered—or will volunteer in the future—for service in the National Guard before reaching the age of 18½. In the past, these men could be drafted until they reached the age of 35. This age of liability for such National Guardsmen was fixed by the conference committee to end at 28. After that, these men cannot be drafted. This is expected to increase the interest of young men in signing up for service in the National Guard.

Does the new draft change the length of service for inductees?

No. That remains 24 months under the new Selective Service program. Furthermore, men completing only two years of service still are obligated for an additional six years of duty in some part of the Reserves. Pentagon plans for strengthening the Reserve program, however, are not tied into the draft extension.

Are deferment rules changed?

They are, in one respect, which can be important to some farm boys. In the past, local draft boards sometimes have denied deferments to farm youths, as essential agricultural workers, where they were engaged in producing surplus crops, such as wheat. The new draft bill spells out that a local board must not consider whether a farm's product is a surplus commodity in deciding whether a man is, or is not, entitled to deferment. Otherwise, the rules on deferment are the same as in the past, with local boards having wide authority in making decisions.

Is draft liability changed for any other group?

Yes. The new setup provides that any man discharged after honorable service of 12 months or more cannot be drafted. If this man is released after six months for the "convenience of the Government" —which means such things as a reduction in force—he also is draft exempt.

Can a man turned down for physical reasons still be drafted?

That's possible. The conference committee did not accept a proposed change in the present law.

Will families of inducted men still get benefits?

Yes. The Dependents Assistance Act is being continued until July 1, 1959.

Will there still be re-employment rights?

They continue, too. Men leaving regular jobs under Selective Service, or to volunteer, are given the same re-employment rights as under the old draft law.

What about the doctors' draft?

The conference committee approved, with some changes, the Senate program to continue for two years the draft of physicians and dentists under a separate law. One change reduced from 51 to 46 the cutoff age at which they could be drafted. Some doctors also can be called up under the regular Draft Act, until the age of 26—or 35 if previously deferred. Also approved was continuance of the special incentive pay of $100 a month for these professional men in service. This applies to physicians and dentists who volunteer for service in the armed forces as well as to those who are drafted.

Soothe your tired eyes

WITH A **2-DROP BATH** OF **MURINE**

Before you close your eyes in sleep, soothe and refresh them... wash away the tiredness of the day with just two drops of Murine in each eye. Because of its seven tested ingredients, Murine blends perfectly with the natural fluids of the eye—and it is as gentle as a tear. So use Murine regularly every day as often as your eyes feel tired. It makes your eyes feel good.

MURINE for your eyes

4½% per annum ON SAVINGS paid quarterly

CURRENT RATE

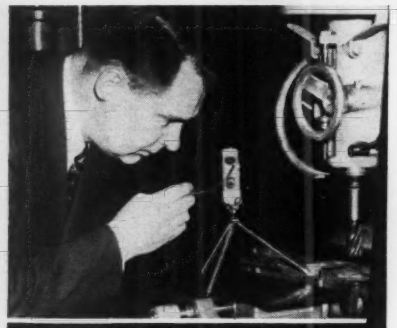
ON CERTIFICATE ACCOUNTS IN MULTIPLES OF $100.00

→ **Funds received by the 15th earn from the 1st.**

→ **Withdrawal requests serviced promptly.**

→ **Save by mail... mail funds to Savings Dept. S**

FIRST WESTERN SAVINGS
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION
Southern Nevada's Oldest
116 N. Third St. · Las Vegas, Nevada
Bart Lytton, President



E. N. Johnson, President, Johnson Spring Company, always carries his

minox

camera

to photograph safe operating procedures for custom machinery he builds. sharp minox pictures give his customers real "know-how" quickly . . . easily! for your pleasure, Johnson recommends the MINOX —world's tiniest precision camera—so light (2½ oz.), you'll always take it along. fast f/3.5 lens. all speeds from 1/2 sec. up to 1/1000 sec. No FLASH NECESSARY FOR INSIDE SHOTS! the GIFT SUPREME! minox III-S with chain and case 139.50

for literature and your dealer, write Dept. O

KLING Photo Corp.
235 Fourth Ave.,
New York 3, N. Y.

In good company

Look over the advertisements in this issue. You'll notice how many different kinds of businesses find it advantageous to advertise in "U. S. News & World Report." Ask your advertising agency for their facts on how the "magazine of essential news" fits into your own advertising program.

SAVE BY MAIL

4% CURRENT RATE

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK SYSTEM

EARN 4% ON OUR PREPAID SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

• One of Chicago's Oldest and Largest Savings Associations. Under State Government Supervision. Member Federal Home Loan Bank System. Send check or write for our Free Financial Booklet. Accounts opened by 15th earn from the first.

CITY SAVINGS ASSOCIATION
Savings Department 100
1656 West Chicago Avenue
Chicago 22, Illinois
ASSETS OVER $28 MILLION . . .

WHAT YOU AS A BUSINESSMAN ☑ CAN and ☒ CANNOT DO

as a result of recent court and administrative decisions

☑ **YOU CAN** now deal with the General Services Administration in selling ***office supplies*** to the armed services. Effective July 1, GSA is given full responsibility for buying these supplies for the Department of Defense. Formerly the Army made such purchases.

* * *

☑ **YOU CAN** distribute ***antiunion literature*** to your employes during working hours, even though you have a plant rule against distribution of tracts by a union. The National Labor Relations Board holds that an employer did not violate the Taft-Hartley law by doing this, as the literature was not coercive.

* * *

☑ **YOU CAN** probably take an ***income tax deduction*** for your contribution to an alumni association, even though the organization engages in social and recreational activities. The U. S. Tax Court finds, in a case involving an estate tax, that such activities by an alumni association do not disqualify it as an educational or charitable organization for tax purposes.

* * *

☑ **YOU CAN,** as operator of a small manufacturing plant, get help from the Small Business Administration in obtaining a ***Government contract.*** SBA invites small plants to register their productive facilities with its regional offices so that they can be notified of opportunities for Government contracts and subcontracts.

* * *

☑ **YOU CAN,** as a stockholder who objects to a railroad company's ***stock-option plan,*** count on the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine your rights in sale of your stock to the company. ICC decides that the Federal Government, rather than the States, has exclusive control over railroad securities and financing.

☒ **YOU CANNOT** legally tell your employes that you will fire them unless they remove union buttons they are wearing. This, according to NLRB, violates the ***Taft-Hartley Act.***

* * *

☒ **YOU CANNOT** refuse your employes paid time off to vote in a State having a ***voting-pay law,*** even though the polls are open after working time. A New York court holds that an employe is not required to vote on his own time, except in a primary election.

* * *

☒ **YOU CANNOT** as a general rule, in figuring the ***Social Security tax*** on a servant who works part time in your home and part time in your place of business, fail to base the tax on pay for both jobs. An exception to this ruling of the Internal Revenue Service is made when the total wage for domestic service is less than $50 a quarter.

* * *

☒ **YOU CANNOT,** as a college professor, avoid a ***self-employment tax*** on income from writing books and giving lectures. Such income, says IRS, is subject to this Social Security tax.

* * *

☒ **YOU CANNOT** expect to be allowed an income tax deduction for the cost of an ***annuity*** that you buy from a charitable organization. The Internal Revenue Service rules that the purchase of such an annuity does not give a taxpayer the right to a deduction for charity.

* * *

☒ **YOU CANNOT** refuse a ***collective-bargaining*** union's request for wage information linked with the names of individual employes, even though the union does not show it is needed for negotiations. A federal court of appeals holds that such information is presumed to be relevant to collective bargaining.

Conclusions expressed in these paragraphs are based upon decisions and rulings of courts and Government Bureaus. In making their decisions, courts and bureaus consider many facts which, for reasons of space, cannot be set forth in detail. U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, *on written request. will refer interested readers to sources of this basic material.*

with an eye for style:

Chevrolet Bel Air Convertible

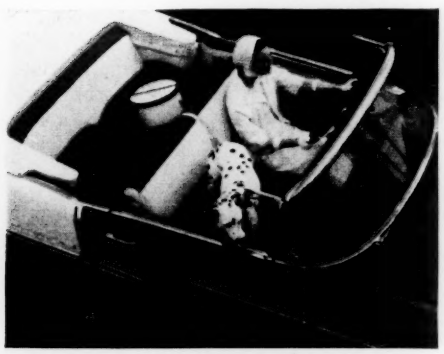
OUR General Motors designers, as usual, are way out in front of the automotive style parade.

Not only with a multitude of such advanced styling features as GM's own panoramic windshield—but in the wealth of new colors and color combinations with which they've glorified our 1955 Chevrolets, Pontiacs, Oldsmobiles, Buicks and Cadillacs.

And our GM engineers are right with them!

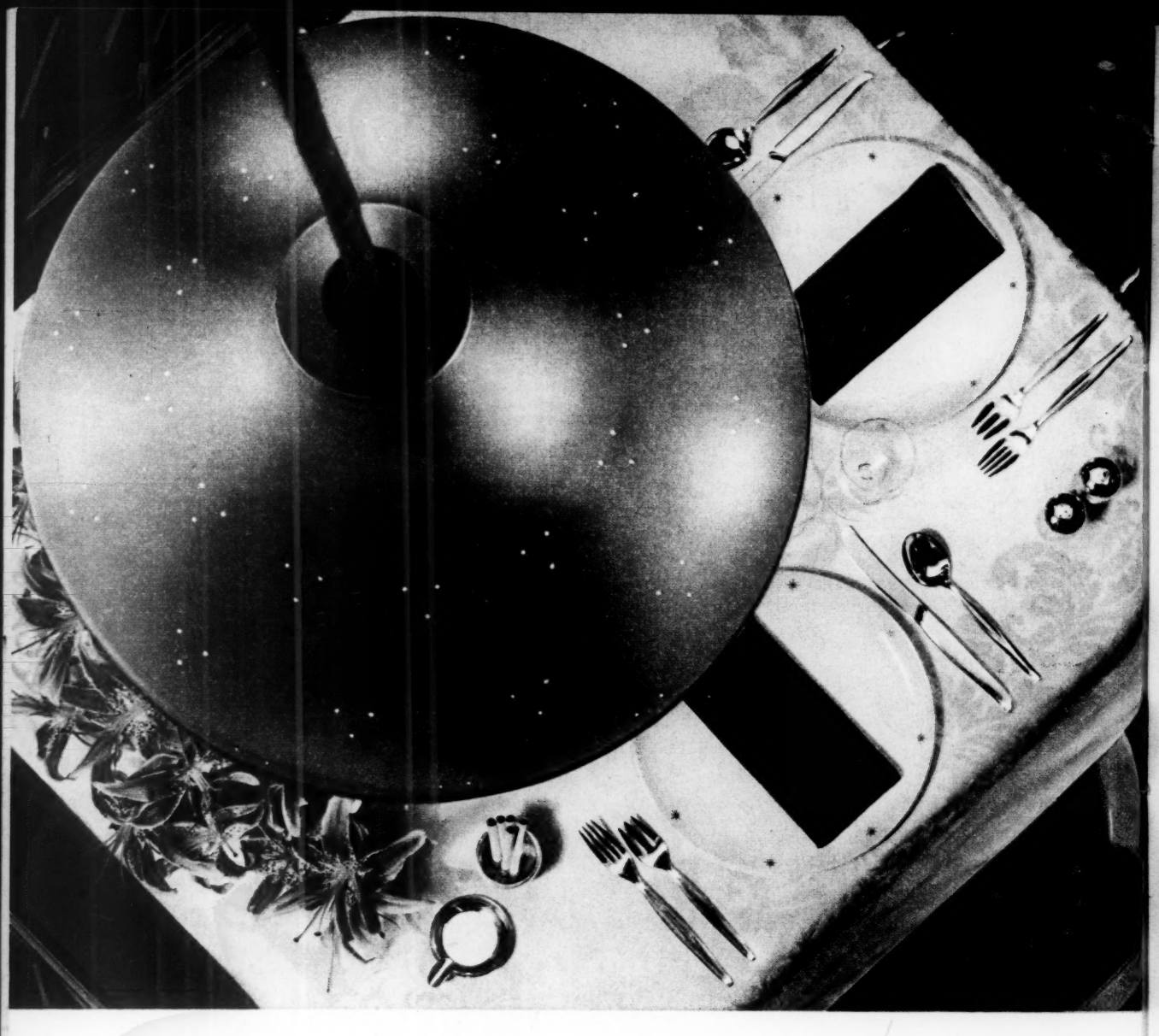
Higher-compression V8 engines in every line. Smoother, more efficient, automatic transmissions. Improved Safety Power Steering, Power Brakes—and all the other GM contributions to easier, safer driving.

So—whatever price you wish to pay—your dealer can quickly prove your key to greater value is the key to a 1955 General Motors car.



GENERAL MOTORS *leads the way*

CHEVROLET · PONTIAC · OLDSMOBILE · BUICK · CADILLAC · *All with Body by Fisher* · GMC TRUCK & COACH



PROGRESS THROUGH ANACONDA METALS

The new gleam in Brass costs less!

THE PROBLEM: When the manufacturer finishes up a handsome lamp like the one above, he must polish it to a gleaming fare-thee-well. The cost of this brass polishing comes high – is often more than the metal itself.

THE SOLUTION: Formbrite* is the answer. This is a new kind of metal especially developed by The American Brass Company – an Anaconda company – to help the men who make things of brass. Formbrite's beauty is built-in; it is easily worked, and polishes faster for final lacquering or plating. Users say they save as much as 50% on finishing costs.

The secret is in the way Anaconda rolls and anneals Formbrite. Special control exercised in these processes gives it a superfine grain structure. It also makes possible products that are more lustrous, more attractive, more scratch-resistant. On display shelves, Formbrite has eye-appeal that other metals don't have.

Though Formbrite often saves brass goods makers more than its own cost, *it doesn't cost one red cent more than ordinary brasses!*

THE FUTURE: The beauty of brass is eternal – in style and durability. More and more manufacturers are taking advantage of the unique qualities of this ever popular metal. At Anaconda they find the experience in both metals *and* metalworking that helps them make the best use of copper, brass and bronze—and the greatest possible saving. The Man from Anaconda can show you how. *Anaconda, 25 Broadway, New York 4, N. Y.*

*Formbrite registered U. S. Pat. Off.

55225

ANACONDA®

News YOU Can Use ®

IN YOUR PERSONAL PLANNING

24th and N Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Things happening now in the housing market are important to people who plan to buy or build. We get this size-up from talks with Government housing experts, builders, real estate brokers, bankers, and savings and loan officials.

MARKET FOR HOMES. A big demand for homes goes on feeding the building boom. Population shifts, rising incomes, and the longer terms and lower down payments now permitted on Government-insured mortgages bring a steady flow of prospective home buyers into the market. Experts generally agree the outlook is for conditions to continue to keep home building going--not at the present rate, but at a high level--for some years to come.

HOUSE PRICES. Net result, these experts tell us, is that you can make plans for buying or selling a home with the expectation that things will be fairly steady for a good while ahead. They point out that the market situation is little changed from this same time last year. Older homes in some cities are down a bit in price; in others the downward trend has stabilized. On a square-foot basis, prices of new houses are about the same as a year ago. Building costs are up somewhat, but competition in many areas has led builders to absorb most of the increase.

MORTGAGE MONEY. A survey by the National Association of Real Estate Boards finds money available for home loans a bit tighter than in early spring, but easier than a year ago. Varies with locality, of course. Also, individuals with an extra-good credit rating, or who borrow on a choice piece of property, now stand more chance of promoting a mortgage with lower-than-the-usual interest rates.

POLIO. Medical authorities, in a meeting in New York, took a stand on whether children should receive shots of the Salk vaccine in a period when polio itself is around. They agreed unanimously that the vaccine's benefits outweigh possible risk that an injection will provoke paralysis if polio virus already is lurking in the child's body. The experts taking this view represented--among others--the American Medical Association, the Academy of General Practice, the Academy of Pediatrics, and the U. S. Public Health Service. In Washington, another group of experts endorsed the vaccine's safety, but by a divided vote of 8 to 3.

AIR-CONDITIONERS. You'd be smart--if you plan to buy a room air-conditioner --to familiarize yourself with revised standards for rating the cooling capacity

(over)

of these appliances. They have just been agreed to by the National Better Business Bureau and the Air-Conditioning and Refrigeration Institute.

The old method of labeling cooling power in terms of "tons" works all right for very large units, the Bureau says. But for room-size models, terms like "one-half ton" or "one-half horsepower" indicate more cooling ability than actually is provided. The new standards call for measurements in BTU's--units of heat--removed per hour. Manufacturers' specifications give these data.

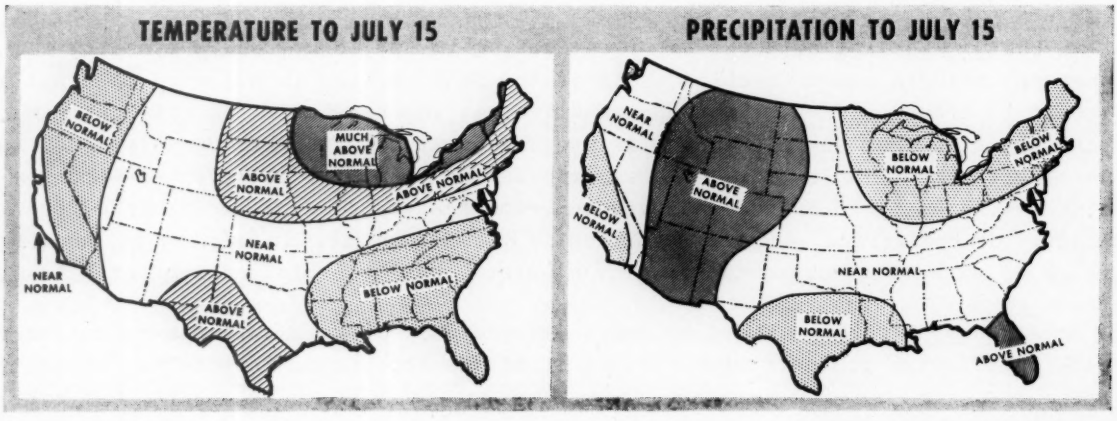
SOCIAL SECURITY. If someone does odd jobs around your house, and also works at your place of business, you must lump together the amounts you pay him in figuring the Social Security tax on his wages. So decides the Internal Revenue Service. There is this proviso, however: The amount you pay him for work at your home must be at least $50 in a calendar quarter. If not, that part can be ignored for Social Security tax purposes.

CHILD CARE. A revision of one of the Government's best sellers, the booklet "Infant Care," has been issued by the U.S. Children's Bureau. It costs 15 cents at the Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

BETTER LEATHER. Shoes you buy may soon be made to wear longer and resist water damage better--thanks to a new leather treatment developed by the U.S. Bureau of Standards for the Navy. The treatment impregnates the leather with a chemical relative of synthetic rubber. It increases wear by 80 per cent, cuts water absorption by half, even provides considerable savings in tanning materials, the Bureau says. Original look of the leather can be retained.

FREEZING CHEESE. You can successfully store some kinds of cheese in your home freezer for as long as six months, the Minnesota Experiment Station reports. Packages must be pound size or smaller, though, and the freezer's temperature zero or lower. Otherwise the cheese becomes crumbly when thawed. Kinds that freeze well--Swiss, Provolone, Mozzarella, Liederkranz, Camembert, Parmesan, Romano, Cheddar, brick and Port du Salut. Not so well--cream cheese, blue.

WEATHER. Northern parts of the U.S. can expect hotter-than-usual weather to mid-July, these maps based on the Weather Bureau's long-range outlook show:



Special Report

(This article represents the result of an extensive research on a problem of outstanding importance.)

INDUSTRY CAN'T SEEM TO EXPAND ENOUGH

One company after another is making plans to expand and re-equip.

Earlier fears of overexpansion are evaporating. Whole industries are lining up for new growth.

The resulting flow of orders for machines, buildings, materials and labor will keep business strong despite seasonal letups.

Industry is finding that, after spending enormous sums on new factories and machines, it still must spend billions more to cut costs and keep up with demand.

This spending is expected to help keep the business boom rolling after this summer's slump. It is one type of activity that economists consider especially stimulating, if not inflationary.

Pressure to expand and buy new equipment is showing up in one place after another.

Supplies of basic materials, such as steel, aluminum and nickel, are tight, despite all the recent expansion. More expansion, to cost billions, now is being planned.

Even industries that make consumer goods, while they can supply almost anything the public wants, feel some strain.

At the same time, there is pressing demand for machines that can cut costs and bring out new products. Companies have lots of money to spend for this.

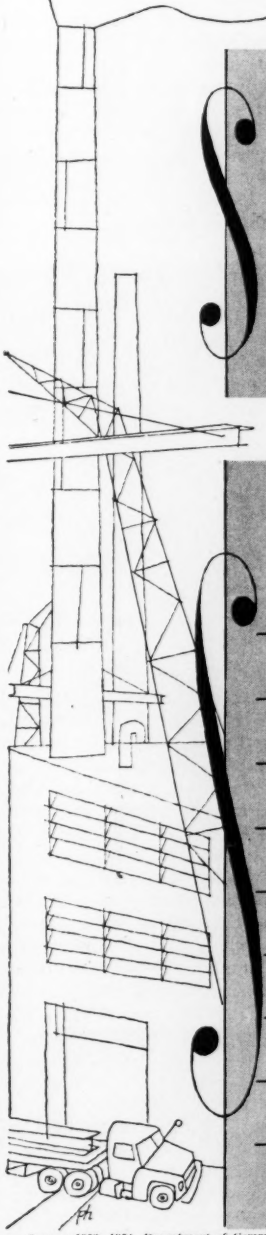
The result is that a new record for this kind of investment is in the making.

Spending for plant and equipment hit a peak in the third quarter of 1953. After that, the rate of spending declined slowly but steadily through the first quarter of 1955. Surveys of industry late last year indicated a further decline in prospect.

The boom has made businessmen change their minds. The latest Government survey shows a sharp increase is getting under way in the second and third quarters of this year. The trend is headed squarely at a new record rate by the year end.

Keith Funston, president of the New

(Continued on page 94)



HERE'S ANOTHER SPARK FOR THE BUSINESS BOOM

Since 1945, business has spent $217.9 billion for new plant and equipment. Despite this huge outlay, spending now is rising.

1953 (Record)	$28.3 billion
1954	$26.8 billion
1955 (Estimate)	$28.2 billion

These industries are expected to spend more money this year than last—

	1954	1955 (Estimate)
IRON AND STEEL	$754 million	$790 million
ELECTRICAL MACHINERY	$439 million	$450 million
OTHER MACHINERY	$694 million	$800 million
STONE, CLAY AND GLASS	$361 million	$410 million
RUBBER	$131 million	$140 million
MINING	$975 million	$1 billion
RAILROADS	$854 million	$900 million
OTHER TRANSPORTATION	$1.5 billion	$1.6 billion
PUBLIC UTILITIES	$4.2 billion	$4.6 billion

Source: 1953, 1954, Department of Commerce and Securities and Exchange Commission; 1955 estimates by Economic Unit, USN&WR

© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

[continued]

INDUSTRY CAN'T SEEM TO GROW ENOUGH

York Stock Exchange, asserts that industry will need to spend far more money on expansion and improvement in the coming decade than has been spent in the past decade.

Too many factories? Since World War II, more than 217 billion dollars has been spent, as indicated by the chart on page 93. From time to time, businessmen and others have wondered: Isn't industry building more factories than will be needed? Overcapacity could lead business to cut its spending drastically and thus bring on deflation.

That hasn't happened. Business has continued pouring money into plant and equipment, with only slight letups in 1949 and 1953-54. Severe cuts in this investment, such as occurred in 1921, again after 1929 and yet again in 1938, have not come back to plague business in this postwar period.

The automobile industry is one place to see what is going on.

Investment in new plants has been heavy, and continues. General Motors Corporation figures it has earmarked more than 4 billion dollars for new plant and equipment since the end of World War II. This includes a new 500-million-dollar program just announced.

Ford Motor Company has plans to spend 635 millions, in addition to more than a billion and a half spent since World War II.

Why all this investment, when there are plenty of new cars to be had?

Whenever auto plants are really humming, extra shifts and Saturday work are required, an expensive practice because of extrahigh, overtime wage rates. Also, machine overhaul is deferred and has a tendency to become more costly.

That is one reason why the big producers don't fear overexpansion.

New auto designs. Another spur to spending is the change in designs. Ford is expanding output of its V-8 engines, because of a trend away from the 6-cylinder car. Other new equipment is being installed by the companies for gadgets catching motorists' fancy.

Labor costs in general are a third incentive. As wages and benefits go up, given another push by the new Ford and GM union contracts, laborsaving processes, "automation," become more attractive.

Other producers of consumer goods are planning to spend more money for similar reasons. Westinghouse Electric Corporation is starting to build a new "automatic" factory near Pittsburgh, for making parts for electronic equipment. Philip Morris & Company, Ltd., is setting up additional machines to pack filter-tip cigarettes. Underwood Corporation, making typewriters and business machines, is thinking about a big new plant near Hartford, Conn.

In some of the industries producing basic materials, a special reason for expansion is being voiced: Present plants may not be enough in case of war.

More steel. Steel is an example of this defense problem.

Today, steelmaking capacity is 125.8 million tons. Nearly 8 billion dollars has been spent since 1945 to assure an ample supply of steel. The mills are working at close to their theoretical capacities, and still their customers are not getting metal as fast as they wish. This situation may ease temporarily, but not much leeway is left for wartime needs or further civilian growth.

U. S. Steel is asking for fast write-offs on about 225 million dollars in new plants. Great Lakes Steel Corporation is increasing its sheet-making capacity by 600,000 tons a year at a cost of 120 million. Northeastern Steel Corporation is spending 4 million for a new bar mill and electric furnaces at Bridgeport, Conn.

Bethlehem Steel Corporation says that, if allowed to merge with Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, it will spend 350 millions for new equipment, adding 2 million tons to the combined capacity at Chicago and a million more at Youngstown, Ohio.

Cost cutting also is an aim of the steel companies in buying new equipment. Cheaper methods of casting steel, more efficient furnaces and better rolling equipment have come along in the postwar period.

NEW FACTORIES KEEP GOING UP
. . . 217 billion dollars' worth since 1945

In wartime, Government officials reason, the steel industry will be a prime target; many mills may be knocked out by an air attack. Yet demand for steel, to rebuild factories, railroads, bridges and homes, may be terrific. So there's a disposition to feel: "The more steel plants, the better."

Industry leaders estimate the amount of expansion, just to keep up with normal civilian growth, will be somewhere between 1.6 million and 4 million tons a year. The Commerce Department believes the increase, in the next five years, will be at least 2 million tons a year.

Expansion for just one producer, the United States Steel Corporation, has been forecast by the company at a million tons a year.

So far in 1955, steel companies have filed plans with the Government for projects estimated to cost 452 million dollars; they want fast tax write-offs on these.

More aluminum. The story of aluminum is somewhat similar. That industry has almost doubled its size, to 1.5 million tons, during and since the Korean war. Producers, worried about possible surpluses, got the Government to promise to take surplus metal off their hands.

The surpluses never developed. The Government actually is not able to get all the aluminum it wants for its defense stockpile; metal ordered for this reserve is being diverted to industry for use in pots and pans and other products. Even so, the Government figures the fabricators won't get all they want this year.

Every company in the industry has plans for bringing new plants into operation within the next year or two, and new companies are planning to enter the aluminum business. If all these plans are carried out, capacity will be increased by 420,000 tons a year, or 28 per cent.

Nickel is still another metal that is not being produced fast enough to take care

of all Government and private demands, despite fast expansion.

Other industries. A long list of industries is stepping up spending to replace old machines with new or to expand.

The petroleum industry shows a fairly steady increase in spending year after year, though the estimated total for 1955 is just about the same as in 1954.

New discoveries bring obsolescence in refining equipment very quickly, and the use of gas and oil and of chemicals from petroleum grows rather steadily over the years. The Interior Department is advising the Government to encourage more expansion in the oil-gas industry. Gas pipelines are being extended.

The building boom is bringing expansion in companies that make cement, bricks, lumber and related materials.

Cement companies have talked about raising their annual capacity from 290 million barrels a year to 338 million by the end of next year.

Stylon Corporation is planning a new plant at Florence, Ala., to make 8 million square feet a year of floor and wall tiles. Johns-Manville Corporation is planning a factory to make insulating board at North Bay, Ontario.

Paper and paperboard companies are expanding steadily, though the amount budgeted for equipment and buildings this year is just about the same as in 1954, the record year in the industry. Weyerhaeuser Timber Company just announced plans for a 20-million-dollar pulp mill in the Grays Harbor area of Washington.

In chemicals, the big bulge of expansion for defense is about over, but new plants are still going up all the time. Heyden Chemical Corporation plans a 4-million-dollar factory for making ingredients for paints and enamels.

Power expansion. The electric-power industry sees no end of growth. U. S. capacity is to be increased from 103.6 million kilowatts at the end of 1954 to 138 million by the end of 1958.

Railroads are stepping up their orders for new cars; special lightweight passenger trains are being ordered by several lines. Airlines are ordering newer-type equipment with jet and turboprop engines.

The companies that just bought the Government's synthetic-rubber plants already are talking about expanding them.

Construction of commercial buildings —stores, offices, warehouses—at a fast clip is another factor in the investment boom.

Effects of this surge of investment are spreading through business. Prospects are improving for machine-tool companies and rail-equipment makers. Construction is breaking all records. Jobs are being created.

Thus, the businessman's new plans for spending give the boom another push.

to get the most out of your printing dollar, always remember...

On your next printing job, call in your printer *early*. He can save time for you by suggesting the *fastest* printing methods . . . and save money for you by suggesting the most *economical* sizes, folds and processes. And when you see your printer, be sure to ask to see Nekoosa Bond, the paper that's *made* better, *looks* better, *performs* better . . . for your letterheads, envelopes, invoices, statements, memos, reports . . . and most other office forms.

Nekoosa

Nekoosa Bond • Nekoosa Ledger • Nekoosa Duplicator • Nekoosa Mimeo • Nekoosa Manifold
Nekoosa Offset • Nekoosa Master-Lucent • Nekoosa Super-Lucent • Nekoosa Opaque
NEKOOSA-EDWARDS PAPER COMPANY • PORT EDWARDS, WISCONSIN

U.N.'s Tenth Anniversary—

IKE TELLS HOW U.S. WILL WORK FOR PEACE

Looking back on 10 years of the United Nations, President Eisenhower sums up its record and finds: some failures, but also some successes. And he pledges the U. S. to continue its support of the U. N.

Looking ahead, with a Big Four meeting coming up, the President sees "high hope." He talks of a "new kind" of peace—not a "mere stilling of the guns" but a "glorious way of life" that makes the atom man's servant instead of his slayer.

The Big Four talks, Mr. Eisenhower says, can be a success if all participants are loyal to the principles of the United Nations.

What other world leaders say about the prospects for peace can be found on page 74.

Following is full text of President Eisenhower's speech at the tenth anniversary meeting of the United Nations, San Francisco, June 20, 1955:

President Van Kleffens, distinguished representatives of the member nations of this great organization, ladies and gentlemen:

This, my second appearance before the United Nations, gives me, as Chief Executive of the United States, the great privilege of joining with you in commemoration of an historic date—significant, momentous, for all mankind.

I am privileged to bring you a special message from the Congress of the United States. Last week the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution requesting me to express to all of you here, on behalf of the people of the United States, our deep desire for peace and our hope that all nations will join with us in a renewed effort for peace.

Later this week my close friend and associate, Secretary John Foster Dulles, speaking with my full confidence and concurrence, will address you on appropriate elements in the foreign policy of the United States. Because of this circumstance, it seems fitting that I, today, speak principally in terms of my country's unswerving loyalty to the United Nations and of the reasons for our tireless support of it.

A decade ago, in this city, in this building, the Charter of the United Nations was signed by its 50 founding members. Into a world, shattered and still at war but hopeful and eager for a new dawn, was born an international organization, fashioned to be the supreme instrument of world peace.

For this nation, I pay respectful tribute to you whose faith, and patience, and courage, and wisdom have brought it through 10 tumultuous, frequently discouraging, sometimes terrifying—but often rewarding—years. That there have been failures in attempts to solve international difficulties by the principles of the Charter, none can deny. That there have been victories, only the willfully blind can fail to see. But clear it is that without the United Nations the failures would still have been written as failures into history. And, certainly, without this organization the victories could not have been achieved; instead, they might well have been recorded as human disasters. These, the world has been spared.

So, with the birthday congratulations I bring, I reaffirm to you the support of the Government of the United States in the purposes and aims of the United Nations—and in the hopes that inspired its founders.

Today—together—we face a second decade. We face it with the accumulated experience of the first 10 years, as well as with the awful knowledge of nuclear weapons and the realization that a certain and enduring peace still eludes our persistent search.

But the summer of 1955, like that one of 1945, is another season of high hope for the world. There again stirs in the hearts of men a renewed devotion to the work for the elimination of war. Each of us here is witness that never in 10 years has the will of many nations seemed so resolved to wage an honest and sustained campaign for a just and lasting peace.

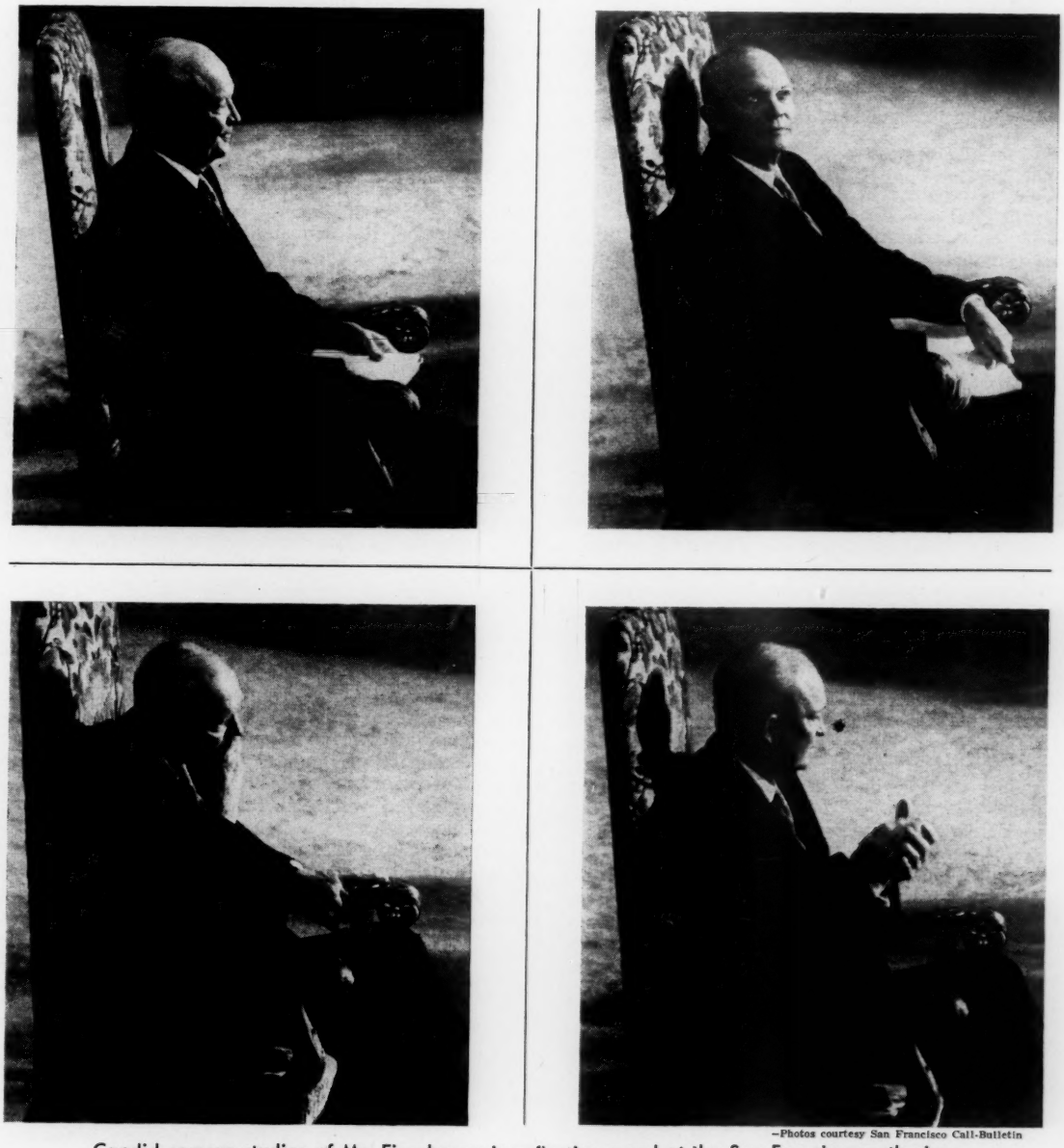
True, none of us can produce incontestable evidence to support this feeling. Nevertheless, all of us, I think, will testify that the heartfelt longings of countless millions for abundance and justice and peace seem to be commanding, everywhere a response from their governments. These longings have strengthened the weak, encouraged the doubtful, heartened the tired, confirmed the believing. Almost it seems that men, with souls restored, are with faith and courage resuming the march toward the greatest human goal.

Within a month there will be a four-power conference of heads of government. Whether or not we shall then reach the initial decisions that will start dismantling the terrible apparatus of fear and mistrust and weapons erected since the end of World War II, I do not know.

The basis for success is simply put: It is that every individual at that meeting be loyal to the spirit of the United Nations and dedicated to the principles of its Charter.

I can solemnly pledge to you here—and to all the men and women of the world who may hear or read my words—that those who represent the United States will strive to be thus loyal, thus dedicated. For us of the United States, there is no alternative, because our devotion to the United Nations Charter is the outgrowth of a faith deeply rooted in our cultural, political, spiritual traditions.

THE PRESIDENT AT THE U. N.—THROUGH THE EYES OF THE TELEPHOTO LENS



—Photos courtesy San Francisco Call-Bulletin

Candid-camera studies of Mr. Eisenhower in reflective mood at the San Francisco gathering

Woven into the Charter is the belief of its authors:

That man—a physical, intellectual and spiritual being—has individual rights, divinely bestowed, limited only by the obligation to avoid infringement upon the equal rights of others;

That justice, decency and liberty, in an orderly society, are concepts which have raised men above the beasts of the field; to deny any person the opportunity to live under their shelter is a crime against all humanity.

Our Republic was born, grew, stands firm today in a similar belief!

The Charter assumes:

That every people has the inherent right to the kind of government under which it chooses to live and the right to select in full freedom the individuals who conduct that government.

(Continued on page 98)

. . . "We shall reject no method that holds out hope for peace"

Hence the Charter declares:

That on every nation in possession of foreign territories, there rests the responsibility to assist the peoples of those areas in the progressive development of free political institutions so that ultimately they can validly choose for themselves their permanent political status.

Our long history as a republic manifests a self-imposed compulsion to practice these same principles.

The Charter recognizes that only those who enjoy free access to historical and current facts and information, and through objective education learn to comprehend their meanings, can successfully maintain and operate a system of self-government. Our republic, likewise, maintains that access to knowledge and education is the right of all its citizens—and of all mankind.

Aggression "Defies Moral Law"

Written under the shadow of war, the Charter is strong in the conviction that no nation has a right to employ force aggressively against any other. To do so—or to threaten to do so—is to defy every moral law that has guided man in his long journey from darkness toward the light. Those who wrote it clearly realized that global war has come to pose for civilization a threat of shattering destruction and a sodden existence by the survivors in a dark and broken world.

Likewise they recognized that the first responsibility of every nation is to provide for its own defense; and, in pursuance of this responsibility, it has the clear right to associate itself with other like-minded peoples for the promotion of their common security.

But they who wrote the Charter emphasized that in the formation of such associations, within the framework of the United Nations, it is incumbent upon the contracting parties to inform the world by solemn assurance, always supported by deeds, that the sole purpose is defense, devoid of aggressive aims.

We as a nation believe these truths that are expressed in the Charter. We strive to live by them. So:

We shall always maintain a government at home that recognizes and constantly seeks to sustain for the individual those rich economic, intellectual and spiritual opportunities to which his human rights entitled him.

In our relations with all other nations, our attitude will reflect full recognition of their sovereign and equal status. We shall deal with common problems in a spirit of partnership.

Insofar as our technical, material and intellectual capacities permit and wherever our aid—including the peaceful use of atomic energy—may be needed and desired, we shall continue to help others achieve constantly rising economic levels. Thereby we trust that they will have increased opportunity to attain their own cultural and spiritual aspirations.

We shall work with all others—especially through this great organization, the United Nations—so that peaceful and reasonable negotiations may replace the clash of the battlefield. In this way we can in time make unnecessary the vast armaments that—even when maintained only for security—still terrify the world with their devastating potentiality and tax unbearably the creative energies of men.

As some success in disarmament is achieved, we hope that each of the so-called great powers will contribute to the United Nations, for promoting the technical and economic progress of the less productive areas, a portion of the resultant savings in military expenditures.

An abiding faith inspired the men and women who devised the great Charter under which you work. We of the United States share that faith. We hold fast to the hope that all nations in their intercourse with others will observe those amenities of deportment, customs and treatment of other nationals as are sanctioned by tradition, by logic and by friendly purposes.

We and a majority of all nations, I believe, are united in another hope: that every government will abstain from itself attempting, or aiding others to attempt, the coercion, infiltration or destruction of other governments in order to gain any political or material advantage or because of differences in philosophies, religions or ideologies.

We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding and respect for others.

So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace.

May I recall to you the words of a great citizen of this country, Abraham Lincoln, which, though uttered in a different context, apply to the problem which the world now seeks to solve.

He said: ". . . The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

In such a body as this, it seems fitting that we should add to Lincoln's words: "Each for himself, our country and humanity."

The object of our second decade is still peace—but a peace of such new kind that all the world will think anew and act anew.

It cannot be a mere stilling of the guns—it must be a glorious way of life. In that life the atom, dedicated once as man's slayer, will become his most productive servant. It will be a peace to inspire confidence and faith so that all peoples will be released from the fear of war. Scientists will be liberated to work always for men, never against them.

Who can doubt that in the next 10 years world science can so beat down the ravages of disease and the pangs of poverty that humankind will experience a new expansion of living standards and of cultural and spiritual horizons? In this new kind of peace the artist, teacher and philosopher, workman, farmer, producer and scientist will truly work together for the common welfare.

World's Hopes Are "Attainable"

These hopes are not new. They are as old as history. But now as we meet on this tenth anniversary in the city where was born the United Nations, we must realize that at last they are steadily and surely attainable. This is new. Our part—our part is to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the United Nations Charter. May we here and now renew our determination to fulfill man's ancient dream, the dream which so inspired the founders of this organization.

Thus our duty will be nobly done, and future generations will behold the United Nations and stand up to call it blessed.

May I please express to your president my grateful thanks for his invitation to address this distinguished body. To each of you my gratitude for your courteous attention.

Thank you very much.

REDS BACK AT THEIR OLD GAME

Stirring Strikes, Boring Into Unions

Communists are as busy as ever in promoting strikes in key industries. Peace talk hasn't changed the Kremlin's real aims.

Infiltration of unions goes on. Trouble is kicked up whenever possible. The goal is a foothold where the Soviet masters can be helped most.

A look around the world shows what the Reds are doing now.

Ask a non-Communist labor leader anywhere in the world about the new sweet talk coming from the Kremlin, and he will answer something like this:

"Don't be taken in. The Communists haven't changed any. When they talk peace, coexistence, and 'let's get along with everybody' they are just covering up. The game is the same: keep boring into key labor unions, promote strikes, stir up trouble."

AFL President George Meany, just back from Europe, says that the basic aim of the Communists is to plant members in positions in unions where they can paralyze the defenses of free countries, whenever they see fit, by calling general strikes. Other heads of unions—in Britain, France, Germany, Italy and many other countries—are finding fresh evidence that there is little connection between what the Kremlin preaches and what its agents in the unions are trying to do.

In Britain, these leaders have seen at least one Communist-inspired strike in an important industry in recent months. France sees signs that the Communists in unions are feeling their oats. In Singapore, on the other side of the world, Communists were behind bloody uprisings a short time ago.

Labor leaders find more than coincidence in the fact that recent strikes abroad, more often than not, have been in industries where tie-ups can hurt the economy the most.

Regional editors for *U. S. News & World Report* assigned to foreign capitals have sounded out labor leaders of the world on what the Communists really are up to, and this is what they find:

LONDON

Warnings are being sounded in Britain about the activities of Communists in the labor movement. There have been charges that Communists had a hand in some of the strikes in recent months.

As labor authorities size things up, Communists in Britain are conducting a campaign that shows up again and again in costly strikes, carried out with lightning speed against vital activities often related to defense, ordnance, fuel and communications.

This year, the most notable Red success was the 26-day stoppage of London newspapers. That shutdown was caused by two small unions, one led by Communists.

On the surface, the newspaper strike resulted from a wage dispute involving less than 5 per cent of 15,000 mechanical workers. Underneath was found the strong influence of the Electrical Trades Union, whose leaders are Communists.

One observer, looking at the Communist campaign in Britain, declares: "Within industry and the unions a great battle is in progress between responsible union leaders and a highly organized and disciplined Communist army. The prize is to get traitors into the decisive positions, the key men in the unions, so the nation might sometime be brought to a standstill at a nod from Moscow rulers."

How it's done. The Communist drive is being concentrated at the factory branches of the unions. Communists seem to be out to seize the day-to-day apparatus of unions. They often resort to all sorts of tricks to get a party member or fellow traveler elected as a shop steward, the contact man between the union and its members in the plant. Non-Communists report that a rather high proportion of shop stewards in Britain are Communist sympathizers.

Communists, it seems, are careful in selecting the union to be infiltrated. They are interested in more chaos in coal mining, but not in milk distribution. They infiltrate into the engineering trades, especially aiming at warplane output, but do not worry about farm machinery.

There is a greater concentration on the docks than on railways, because in Britain the docks are where the most congestion can be caused. Communists are more anxious to get a foothold among workers in electronics plants than in chemical factories. They are far more concerned with scientists than with mail carriers.

An example of Communist strategy is provided by the Electrical Trades Union, the same one involved in the

(Continued on page 100)

—Keystone

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
Communists have infiltrated key unions

Assets over $6,500,000
Send your check today! Or, write for free details.
5% Per Year On Savings
SILVER STATE SAVINGS
& Loan Association
Dept. US, Las Vegas, Nevada

Send A Copy To Your Friends
...WITHOUT CHARGE

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
24th & N Streets, N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

Please send a free copy of "U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT" with my compliments to the persons listed below:

☐ If possible, send the July 1, 1955, issue.

To.....
Address.....
City.....Z.....State.....

• • •

To.....
Address.....
City.....Z.....State.....

• • •

To.....
Address.....
City.....Z.....State.....

• • •

To.....
Address.....
City.....Z.....State.....

• • •

To.....
Address.....
City.....Z.....State.....

Sender.....
Address.....
.....

"Guerrilla strikes" tie up a key industry in Britain—a few workers walk out, others stay on job to support them . . .

newspaper walkout. This union has 220,000 members. Its leaders can call strikes in newspapers, new atomic plants or nearly anything that involves electrical construction.

Some of the union leaders boast of calling "guerrilla strikes" to tie up industry. These walkouts are called at strategic centers of an industry. Only a few members are called out, but construction is halted. Meanwhile, most of the members remain at their jobs, pay dues to support those who are on the picket line.

"March for your money." The Electrical Trades Union is cited as having staged a big "solidarity march" on one occasion, to bolster a six-week wave of guerrilla strikes. About 7,000 members paraded through London streets, behind well-known Communist leaders. Most spectators didn't know the members had been told that they had to march in order to collect strike benefits. The benefits were handed out at the end of the parade route.

However, this union is only one of several where Communists have power.

A dock strike late in 1954 was exploited by Communists, although they were not held responsible for starting the walkout in the first place. A 1949 wildcat strike on the docks also was charged to Communist activities.

A strike of truck drivers cut off deliveries of gasoline in London in 1953. Two auto strikes in 1952 were blamed on Communist attempts to disrupt production of tanks and military vehicles.

SINGAPORE

Far around the globe from London, the Communists have been testing their power in this crown colony. The biggest test came recently with the call for a general strike in protest against arrest of five Communist leaders.

Although most observers decided that the Communists had not been entirely successful in the test, there were threats of further trouble later on. The Communists are credited with having powerful "cells" in many unions here.

—Wide World

SINGAPORE STRIKERS BATTLE POLICE
Colony officials blame the Communists

The six-day walkout brought out about 16,000 strikers, according to police estimates. Union leaders had predicted that 70,000 workers would join the protest strike. The colony has about 120,000 workers in all.

Most of the strikers were preparing to go back to work before union leaders announced that the strike was being called off. Public transportation systems were hardest hit while the strike was on, but workers in most industries declined to join the protest.

A bus strike last month touched off a wave of violence, causing four deaths. Even after the protest strike ended, there were about 2,700 workers out on

. . . Reds use "protest" meetings in France, Germany

strike in several industries. Some of these walkouts have been under way for weeks.

Colony officials blame Communists for these walkouts and for the protest demonstrations that go with them.

PARIS

As in Singapore, Communist labor leaders are flexing their muscles in France by staging demonstrations or calling strikes.

An example of the Reds' strike tactics is the walkout of printers staged last month. For 24 hours, the strike stopped publication of most French daily newspapers. It was a "protest" against a law then pending in the National Assembly to outlaw, in effect, the "closed shop" in printing plants.

The law was passed overwhelmingly. The printers had lost a day's pay for nothing—except that Communist leaders had a chance to test their strength.

That strike was ordered by the General Confederation of Labor, which is considered to be under the domination of Communists. This organization also has staged bus strikes and other walkouts, while its members have helped out in street demonstrations on various political issues.

In France, however, unionists believe the Communists are losing some power in the labor movement. The many "protests" and brief strikes—each costing workers some pay—are turning many workers against the Red leaders.

BONN

Communists also are showing that they can call strikes and set off "protests" of various kinds in Western Germany. "Protest" meetings usually have strong political overtones.

An example of strike tactics is a recent walkout at an auto plant in Bremen. The purported issue at stake was 48 hours of pay for 45 hours of work. Top union officials refused to authorize the walkout, charged that it was inspired by Communists.

The Communists also are accused of trying to discredit the elected officials of unions in an effort to capture the organizations. Labor experts say that there is a widening gap between German workers and their union officials in many areas where unions have been given places on company boards of directors.

Communists, it is argued, are waiting to take over the unions, if they can discredit the regular leaders. At times, Communists help to arrange wildcat strikes in order to cause trouble for the union officials.

Wabash/Road of the men who move perishables

from grove via Wabash to market

or, how to get your product to market on time

Buyers and brokers of perishables routed thousands of cars of fresh fruits and vegetables via Wabash last year. They had good reasons:

Perishables go Wabash on high-speed trains, on *guaranteed* schedules. Refrigeration is carefully inspected and controlled. Wabash-owned terminal facilities speed up unloading. Wabash maintains a Diversion Bureau to arrange for instant diversion and re-consignment of cars when needed.

But your shipping problem may be different. It may be steel, or grain, or chemicals. May we prove *your* commodity gets equally reliable handling when you ship it Wabash to, through or from the Heart of America? Wabash representatives in 45 cities have the facts.

SHIPPERS!

Look at the advantages of Wabash "HOT SHOT" Freight

1. "Bridges" the Heart of America, the only railroad member of both the Eastern and Western carrier groups.

2. Connections with 64 major railroads. Coordinated schedules at 118 interchange points.

3. All Diesel-powered trains.

4. Superior car service to shippers.

5. Fast "HOT SHOT" schedules to and through the major Gateway terminals or by-passing them altogether—as you wish.

6. Modern yards designed for faster assembly of trains and more orderly traffic flow.

Wabash
"HOT SHOT" FREIGHT

P. A. SPIEGELBERG,
Freight Traffic Mgr., St. Louis 1, Mo.

Tall, cool and delicious

What is so restoring on a sultry afternoon as the refreshing pick-up you get from an ice-cold soft drink? And more people every day are discovering that their favorite flavor in cans is better than ever. Cans are so handy. They chill quickly, and take such a small amount of space in your refrigerator! Best of all, the beverages are delicious and full of zip.

Last year, when many soft drinks came in throwaway cans for the first time, they made a big hit everywhere. Nearly 700 million were sold. The way their popularity is growing, it won't be very long before the figure is up in the billions.

Tasty soups, vegetables, seafoods, fruits, frozen juices and so many other good things to eat come in cans! Each year the average family in this country buys about 800 cans of household items—foods, baby powder, oil, floor wax, shaving cream, and detergents; to name just a few.

"Tin" cans are actually 99 per cent steel. They're made of tin plate, steel that's rolled into thin sheets and coated with sparkling tin. Tin plate is one of Bethlehem Steel's leading products, and is shipped to can manufacturers from our Sparrows Point plant near Baltimore.

BETHLEHEM STEEL

BETHLEHEM STEEL

W
U.

Trend of American Business®

24th and N Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Demand for money on credit in the months ahead is going to be immense.
U. S. Treasury must borrow substantial sums to meet its obligations.
Business firms want large amounts to finance enlarged expansion programs.
Inventory building on borrowed money is expected to show up again.
Mortgage money will be eagerly sought by home buyers and builders.
Individuals very likely will try to increase their installment buying.
State and local governments want billions for public improvements.
Nearly everywhere you look you can find a need, or at least a demand, for more money. That is a characteristic of a boom.

This demand for credit poses a tough problem for the country's money managers--members of the Federal Reserve Board. Their task is to keep the boom healthy but to prevent excesses. Too much credit can lead to excess. But not enough credit can puncture a boom.

To give you an idea of the soaring demand for money at this time:

Loans to business by commercial banks rose by 1 billion dollars in the first five months of the year. Last year's loan trend was down.

Business loans by banks that report weekly to the Federal Reserve rose 732 million dollars for the week ended June 15. For the corresponding week a year ago, the gain in loans was 402 million.

Nearly all kinds of businesses increased their bank loans in the June 15 week--manufacturers, builders, merchants, sales-finance companies.

Utilities boosted borrowings by 162 millions--biggest gain for any single week since records started to be kept in 1951.

Sales-finance companies added 181 millions to borrowings, the second highest gain on record. That probably reflects the boom in consumer credit.

A good part of this borrowing was done to meet tax payments due June 15. But the volume suggests that taxes do not account for all of it.

Rise in the use of credit suggests a Federal Reserve policy of restraint.

Mild restraint, in fact, has been practiced for some time now by the money managers. The Board has not acted to increase bank reserves--the base for all new bank lending--for a considerable period of time.

Treasury need for funds, however, probably will require Federal Reserve action to expand the credit base somewhat in the period ahead.

Conditions indicate that the Board will move cautiously in this direction.

It also appears likely that money will cost more to borrow--interest rates will be higher--when the boom resumes, as expected, next autumn. Top Government officials are not at all eager to make it too easy to borrow. The feeling is growing that the boom doesn't need stimulation from credit injections.

(over)

Credit growth gives about the only hint, right now, of any excess.

Consumer prices continue to show remarkable stability. In May, the official price index was 114.2 per cent of the 1947-49 average, same as April. It has been between 114 and 115 for about three years.

Food prices slipped a bit during the month because of decreases for eggs, beef, poultry. Fresh fruits and pork prices advanced.

Rents edged upward, but only because of increases in a few cities.

Increases also were noted for public transportation, clothing, medical care, gas and electric bills, and in a few beauty and barber shops.

On the whole, people's living costs are neither rising nor falling. The autumn catalogue of a large mail-order house posts a few lower prices. Rather sharp decreases are noted in television sets and refrigerators.

Factory workers, meanwhile, are pushing their pay higher.

Average take-home pay in May rose to an all-time high of $70.12 a week. That was a gain of $1 a week over April, and $3.94 a week over a year ago.

Pay increase resulted chiefly from a half-hour rise in work week.

Further wage raises are to come as more union settlements are made in major industries. These will spread gradually.

Buying power of the average factory worker's family now is 7.3 per cent above a year ago. That's one explanation of the boom's basic strength.

Wholesale prices, however, show signs of edging upward.

Steel-price rise of $4.50 a ton, on the average, is being predicted in the industry as a result of a wage rise.

Higher prices for steel will not add much to the cost of such items as automobiles, houses or appliances. But wages in steel and auto industries tend to set a pattern for industry as a whole.

Higher costs resulting from high wages will tend to push up prices.

It's a question, though, whether the boost in costs will be reflected at retail to any great extent. Competition continues to be strong. Capacity is not being fully employed in many areas. That tends to keep prices stable.

Industrial expansion, booming though it is, still shows no signs yet of overreaching itself. That's the conclusion reached by the Machinery and Allied Products Institute after an analysis of capital-goods needs.

Installations of plant and equipment are reported to be below a normal growth trend in relation to total private output. In other words, if business activity is to expand in years ahead, plant and equipment will expand, too.

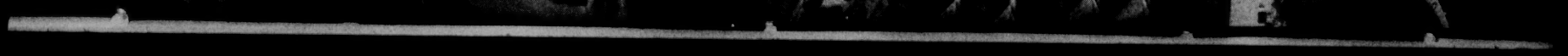
The Institute calculates that over the next decade, requirements for plant, and the machinery to go into plants, will rise by 50 per cent. In brief, industrial expansion probably can be soundly sustained in the years ahead. That could be a stout prop for high business activity in general.

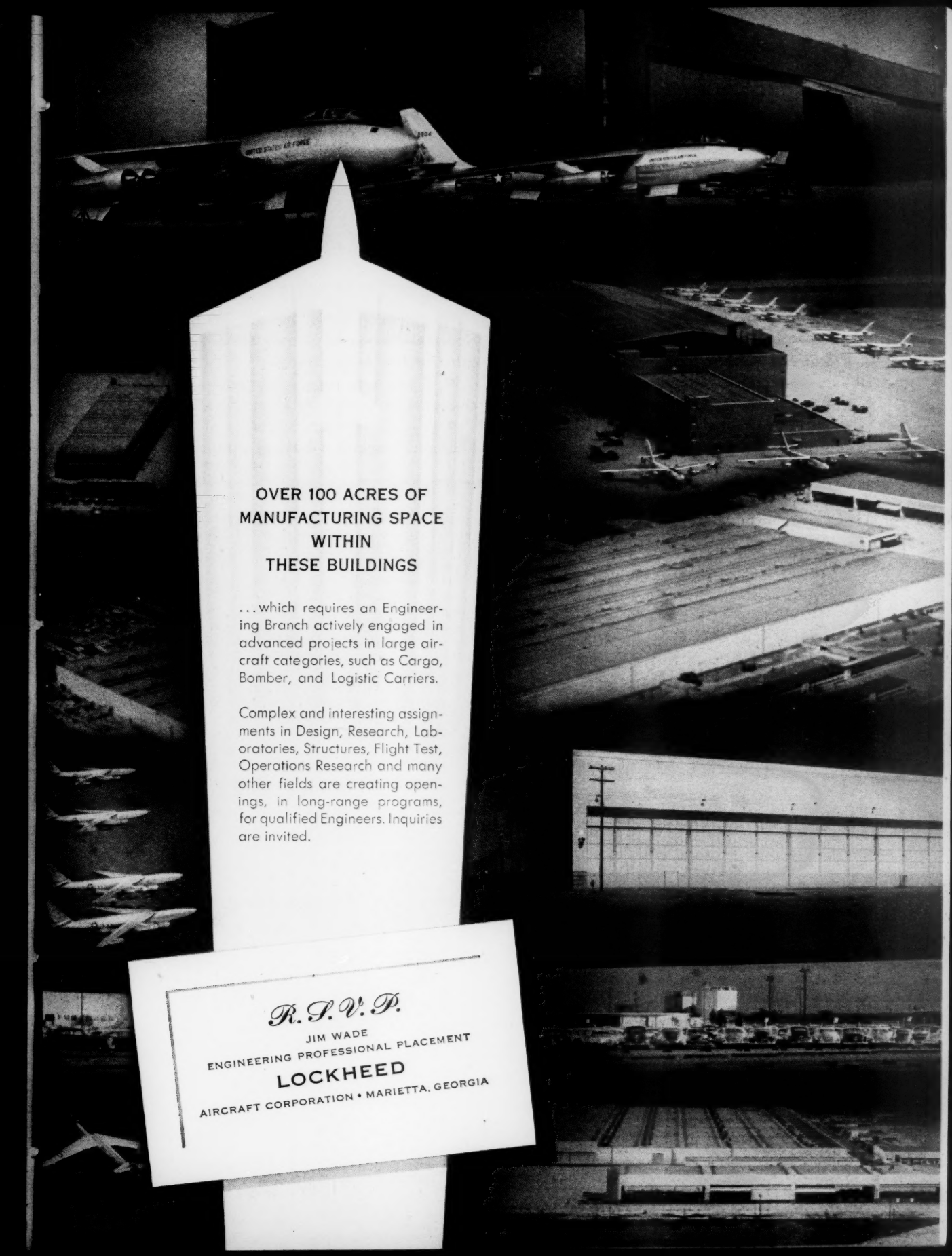
Some basic industries also may need to expand in years ahead.

Nickel is scarce now and Government is diverting 4 million pounds once ordered for the national stockpile.

Aluminum diversion of 200 million pounds still fails to meet demand.

Copper also has been diverted recently to satisfy current needs.





OVER 100 ACRES OF MANUFACTURING SPACE WITHIN THESE BUILDINGS

...which requires an Engineering Branch actively engaged in advanced projects in large aircraft categories, such as Cargo, Bomber, and Logistic Carriers.

Complex and interesting assignments in Design, Research, Laboratories, Structures, Flight Test, Operations Research and many other fields are creating openings, in long-range programs, for qualified Engineers. Inquiries are invited.

R.S.V.P.

JIM WADE
ENGINEERING PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENT

LOCKHEED

AIRCRAFT CORPORATION • MARIETTA, GEORGIA

Assets: 140 Billions—

WORLD'S LARGEST BUSINESS: CAN SAVINGS BE MADE?

A new report on defense planning, from the Hoover Commission, makes these points:

- **Defense spending takes one seventh of U. S income, 60 per cent of the federal budget.**
- **Buying is unplanned, often wasteful.**
- **Organizational changes are needed to strengthen the Defense Department, cut costs.**

The Hoover team, headed by Charles R. Hook, chairman of Armco Steel Corporation, calls for two main changes:

- **A separate Supply Administration to buy civilian-type goods for all services.**
- **A new Assistant Secretary of Defense to plan and supervise buying programs.**

Following are extracts from "Business Organization of the Department of Defense—A Report to the Congress" by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, released June 27, 1955:

This committee has studied the organization and management of the Department of Defense, paying particular attention to support or "business-type" activities.

The most obvious opportunity to make real savings in the cost of Government is in the Department of Defense because it has three-fourths of the Government's payroll and more than 60 percent of its total budget. The tools, services and materiel needed in the defense effort, together with their management, constitute the major cost of national defense.

* * *

The Department of Defense has many characteristics which make it unlike any other organization known to the free world.

It is, by any yardstick of measurement, the largest organization. Its expenditures consume one-seventh of our national income. The Department employs 4,300,000 people, which is more than twice the manpower of the 10 largest corporations of the Nation combined, and is 7 percent of the active national labor force, including military personnel. Its assets, real and personal, approximate $140,000,000,000, which is equal to the value of all privately owned land in the United States. Its activities are spread throughout the 48 States, in 16,000 cities, and extend abroad to 52 other countries.

The activities of the Department of Defense encompass a wider range than those of any other enterprise. Not only does it have counterparts of almost every commercial and industrial enterprise found in the civilian economy (many being on a much vaster scale than those of the civilian economy) but in addition it has the task of recruiting, training, and organizing for combat operations, a task which has no counterpart in civilian enterprise.

Because national survival is at stake, cost cannot be the primary factor. In the words of a prominent flag officer, "our military people are not hired primarily to see how little they can get along with; they are hired primarily to seek to get enough material to meet their responsibilities."

An Assistant Secretary of Defense said along the same line, ". . . it is not unreasonable to expect responsible military personnel to desire sufficient manpower and material at any place and at any time to minimize potential military risks. Cost, even though given active and sympathetic recognition, tends to assume a secondary role."

The Subcommittee on Special Personnel Problems concluded: "Military leaders should emphasize military requirements and should not be expected to give first concern to the capabilities of the national economy. On their shoulders rests the heavy responsibility of defending the country; someone else needs to determine what the country can afford within the risks the country is willing to assume."

From a management viewpoint, the Defense establishment is made even more complex by three different sets of executives. First, there are the highly trained and disciplined military leaders upon whom the Nation must depend for the planning and conduct of defense. Second, there are the career civilian managers who provide continuity and skills usual to the civilian economy. Over both are top civilian administrators—the Secretariat—whose responsibility is to insure that the military machine is used as an implement of public policy, to give it the overall direction that stems from the authority of the President, and to see that it is operated with all possible economy and efficiency.

* * *

Primary Obstacles To More Effective Management

Four obstacles are impending close and productive working relationships among top defense executives. These obstacles are as follows:

First, decisions and information do not flow freely from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Assistant Secretaries of Defense. Thus, a weakness exists in top defense management which deprives our Nation of the intended benefits of full civilian participation in the formulation and execution of national defense plans and programs.

Second, the assignment of responsibilities among members of the Secretariat in the Office of the Secretary of Defense impedes effective coordination. This is due to the numerous interrelationships among the functions for which these executives are responsible. . . .

Third, the responsibilities of the Assistant Secretaries in the

. . . "Recommended: a Defense Supply and Service Administration"

military departments differ significantly in nature and scope—a condition which complicates coordination and understanding between each department and the Office of the Secretary of Defense and among the departments themselves.

Fourth, responsibility for the management of support activities is not clearly defined between the principal military and the principal civilian executives.

° ° °

The studies of the task force on procurement reveal important deficiencies in defense planning:

> Guidance furnished the military departments for basic procurement planning is inadequate because of weaknesses in unified military planning. The primary causes for these weaknesses are the sheer difficulty of the task; the inevitable partisanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; their lack of time for planning; their reluctance to share the planning task with the Assistant Secretaries of Defense and others; and the reluctance of civilian Secretaries to assume responsibilities on military planning.

To assist the Secretary of Defense in meeting these problems, the following recommendation is made:

Recommendation

> The Secretary of Defense should create in his office a civilian position invested with sufficient stature and authority to insure the establishment and maintenance of effective planning and review of military requirements. The official occupying this position would, on behalf of the Secretary:
>
> **(a)** Maintain active liaison with National Security Council, Joint Chiefs of Staff and their staffs;
>
> **(b)** Coordinate all guidance provided at the Office of the Secretary of Defense level to the military departments covering the preparation of requirements programs; and
>
> **(c)** Provide for a system of effective review and analysis of defense plans and requirements computations.

• • •

Program for Improving Supply Activities

Steps to eliminate duplication in the procurement and supply activities of the Army and the Navy were being studied and discussed long before the issue of unification was considered. Prior to and during World War II, varying degrees of coordination existed in the purchase of items such as lumber, subsistence, medical supplies, chemical warfare equipment, tractors, small arms, and small arms ammunition.

The highest degree of integration would result from the creation of a separate agency, within the framework of the Department of Defense, to serve all departments equally in purchasing, inventory control and distribution to the end of the wholesale pipeline.

The opponents of such a plan argue that each department should have control over a support system which is completely responsive to its own needs. This objection undoubtedly reflects the fear that a separate agency might gradually swallow the entire military support structure and impair the ability of the combat arms to execute their missions with the flexibility essential in time of emergency.

The advantages of such an agency are that it cuts across the barriers of interservice rivalries and nonstandardized procedures, and brings into being an activity staffed by specialists and operated with the efficiency of a commercial enterprise.

° ° °

In addition to its other advantages a common supply and service agency would provide a supply system more quickly expandable in wartime without need of drastic reorganization, remove commercial-type operations from the military departments and thereby free professional military personnel of unnecessary administrative burdens.

Recommendation

Congress should enact legislation establishing a separate civilian-managed agency, reporting to the Secretary of Defense, to administer common supply and service activities.

° ° °

Materiel procured by the military departments is divided into two broad classifications:

> *Military hard goods* which comprise the weapons of war: aircraft, ships, tanks, guns, ammunition, spares, components and other military-type items. Expenditures for this classification of items in the fiscal year 1955 are estimated to be $12,500,000,000, or more than 75 percent of total DOD procurement expenditures.
>
> *Commercial-type items* commonly used among the departments and readily found in the civilian economy. Examples are food, clothing, medical and dental supplies, fuels and lubricants, hardware, household-and-office-type supplies and equipment, commercial automobiles, and vehicular spare parts. Expenditures for this classification of items in the fiscal year 1955 are estimated at $4,000,000,000.

A separate agency would be expected to assume supply responsibilities only for commercial-type items and services.

Organization for a Separate Supply and Service Agency

It is recommended that the proposed agency be known as the Defense Supply and Service Administration. . . . The Administration would have the status of an additional operating arm of the Department of Defense, subject to policy direction and coordination by the Office of the Secretary of Defense in the same manner as the three military departments. Its head should be known as the Administrator, and he should be a presidential appointee. The staff of the Administration should be composed of career trained support specialists, including a principal career assistant. . . . However, the initial organization should be formed by transferring necessary personnel and facilities from the military departments.

° ° °

Preliminary studies indicate that the proposed Defense Supply and Service Administration ultimately may encompass activities now employing about 150,000 employees with expenditures in the range of $6,000,000,000 to $8,000,000,000 annually (approximately 20 percent of the defense budget). Operations on a selective basis can be initiated within a period of a few months, and Congress should keep the progress of the Administration under continuing scrutiny to prevent it from being retarded.

The fact must also be recognized that the proposed Administration will not cure all of the waste and inefficiency in the defense supply system. The committee wishes to emphasize that this is only one of the vital steps required. Between 50 and 75 percent of procurement expenditures probably will always remain in the three military departments. Thus, the many other fundamental improvements which have been proposed in task force reports should be vigorously pursued under the watchful eye of Congress.

WHERE STOCK PRICES ARE UP MOST

Rubber, Aircraft, Iron and Steel, Television

Fortunes, many of them, are being banked by individuals who put their savings into common stocks a few years ago.

Some speculative issues have had spectacular gains in price. Heavy buyers of those have fared well.

Even more individuals, though, have made small fortunes without ever taking their eyes off well-known corporations.

At this stage in the longest bull market in history, questions are being raised about how much longer stock prices can go on rising.

For six years, with only a brief interruption in 1953, the stock market has been climbing persistently. In that period, shares of a good many corporations have multiplied 6, 8, even 10 times in market value.

The average industrial stock, as shown in the Dow-Jones index, has gone up 169.9 per cent in that six-year period. This means that, on the average, an investment of $10,000 in stock in 1949 is worth $26,990 today.

Many investors have done far better than that—though, of course, others with less happy selections have failed to match the average.

Now, for the individual trying to decide whether to get into the market—or out—the question arises: Are there still fortunes to be made in stocks?

What's happened. As you can see from a glance at the chart on page 109, fortunes certainly have been made in this bull market—at least on paper. That fact alone helps to account for a large part of the buoyancy that shows up in business, industry, in trade, in spending on vacations and the like.

Thousands of individuals are watching the market quotations these days and telling themselves how well off they are. People don't always stop to remember that profits on paper are not profits in the pocket. Still, these gains are real as long as they can be turned into cash.

The chart shows, too, that the size of stock-market profits—even paper profits—depends on the investor's wisdom, or luck, in selecting his buys.

Rubber and aircraft-manufacturing shares, taken as groups, have had the biggest rise. If you had invested $100 in rubber shares in 1949, you now would have an investment worth $656.90.

Or, say you put $1,000 into each of the five leading gainers—into rubber, aircrafts, iron and steel, television and railroads. Your $5,000 investment of 1949 could be sold today for almost exactly $25,000.

Let's assume, instead, that you put your savings into some of the more modest gainers. Say you spread $10,000 evenly over shares in dry-goods chains, installment financing, retail merchandising, grocery chains and banks. In that case, your nest egg now would be worth a bit more than $20,000. You could have doubled your savings in six years, if taxes are not considered.

These, of course, are results of investment based on industry averages. While the averages illustrate trends, the fact is that few people "buy the averages."

Where gains are biggest. Many an investor, checking company situations carefully, has done better than these averages. Take a look at some of the price rises that have helped the luckier ones make really spectacular gains.

In 1949, for example, a total of $14 would have bought one share each in three corporations producing chemicals, specialized communications equipment and automatic machine tools. Today, the three shares—one each in those particular companies—are worth a total of $232.

If you had invested $5,000 in each of those three firms in 1949, you could have turned your investment recently for $251,000—a profit of $236,000 on your $15,000 outlay. That ignores the tax on your profits—but it ignores dividends you would have collected, too.

Few investors hit so successfully on the speculative issues. Yet thousands have done well without departing from better-known names in industry.

—United Press

INVESTOR WITH A QUESTION
. . . How long will it last?

The blue chips. Let's assume you put approximately $1,000 into Standard Oil Company of New Jersey on the last trading day of June in 1949, and another $1,000 on the same day in each year since. Your investment to date comes to $6,046. On the market, however, it's worth $14,059—or 133 per cent more than it cost. And that makes no allowance for dividends.

Or, you may have been fortunate enough to follow that same program using United Aircraft Corporation as your choice. If so, your original investment of $5,975 is worth $14,537—for a 143 per cent gain.

The investor who tried that out with Du Pont has seen his $6,042 nest egg

grow in market value to $15,827, for a paper profit of 162 per cent.

The man who liked General Electric Company for that same investment program now finds his outlay of $6,020 is worth $17,992—nearly three times what he paid.

And the person who used the same idea on Bethlehem Steel Corporation now can boast of an investment that cost $5,977 and is worth, at the market, $20,448. His savings—ignoring his dividends—are worth nearly three and a half times what they were at the time of investment.

And now? What happens in the fortune-making department now is to depend on what happens to business activity, profits, dividends, Government controls.

The business outlook, it's agreed, is good. And that goes, at the moment, for profits and dividends.

Government decisions are something else. If business—along with the stock market—keeps on booming, there's every reason to expect the Federal Reserve Board to step in with tighter credit controls on stock buying, to require people to put up more cash when they buy shares—perhaps 100 per cent of the price. Under those same conditions, too, there's reason to look for a general tightening of credit all around. These actions could wring a good deal of enthusiasm out of stock buying.

Those, briefly, are the factors that individuals must assess in trying to decide whether there still are fortunes to be made in this bull market.

The fact is that this already has been the longest bull market in history. And stock prices already are at their highest point in history.

In the face of these facts, it's an optimistic investor who expects that fortunes yet to be made from this market will match those already made.

› **Stock issues.** Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange, has taken a look at prospects for equity issues in years ahead, based on his estimate that U. S. corporations will need "a staggering 375 billion dollars in new capital" to reach economic levels projected for 1965.

About 160 billion dollars of the total, he estimates, must be raised outside corporations themselves—from institutions and the general public. If industry, on such a program, follows the recent pattern of raising three times as much debt as equity capital, equity financing would have to account for about 40 billion dollars. This means, he says, that corporations would have to boost their equity flotations by something like 100 per cent as compared with the years since World War II.

BIGGEST GAINERS IN THE BULL MARKET

$100 Invested in These Industries In 1949—	Is Worth This Much* Today—
Rubber	$656.90
Aircraft manufacturing	$616.30
Iron and steel	$440.50
Television	$403.00
Railroads	$382.50
Electrical equipment	$347.10
Paper	$341.50
Oil	$331.50
Office equipment	$315.90
Air transport	$313.90
Chemicals	$288.00
Building materials	$281.70
Distillers	$240.80
Installment financing	$224.50
Auto manufacturing	$212.60
Dry-goods chains	$210.40
Machinery	$209.20
Auto equipment	$206.30
Nonferrous metals	$202.20
Retail merchandising	$200.20
Railway equipment	$197.60
Grocery chains	$191.10
Utilities	$188.40
Food and beverages manufacturing	$188.00
Banks	$174.80
Farm equipment	$162.80
Packing	$162.80
Motion pictures	$160.80
Textiles	$129.80
Drugs manufacturing	$124.10
Tobacco	$ 97.50

**Based on average price changes in each industry.*

Basic Data: Barron's Indexes

© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.

PLUS & MINUS
Latest Indicators of Business Activity

A fast upturn in business spending for new plant and equipment is providing a strong bulwark against any deflationary forces that may appear in the economy in coming months.

New orders for machine tools rose in May to their highest in 21 months.

Freight cars ordered by railroads increased to 3,041 in May, nearly three times as many as a year ago.

Construction for business firms is running far above last year. Officials estimate this year's gain over last will be 44 per cent for stores, restaurants and garages, 12 per cent for warehouses, offices and loft buildings. Industrial construction, just turning up, is slated for an 8 per cent gain.

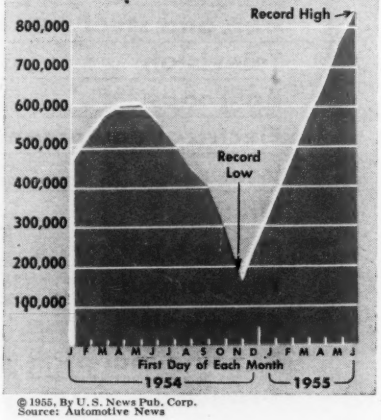
Planned expenditures for new plant and equipment, reported recently, come to a rate of 28.8 billions per year in the third quarter of this year, 12 per cent above the rate of actual expenditures in the first quarter.

The auto industry is still expanding. General Motors Corporation has just announced a 500-million-dollar program, to be completed by the end of 1956. In April, the Ford Motor Company gave notice that it would spend an additional 625 million on new plant and equipment over a three-year period. Chrysler Corporation early this year announced a plan to build a new plant that would add 40 per cent to its capacity.

Large inventories of autos do not shake the confidence of auto manufacturers. As the top chart shows, dealers' stocks of new cars soared to a record high on June 1—totaling 840,000, as estimated by *Automotive News*. Moreover, the inventory of used cars, including those on used-car lots, is well above a million.

Strong retail demand for cars is counted on to clear away a sizable part of the inventory by autumn, when 1956 models will be rolling off assembly lines. To help dealers move 1955 models, manufacturers plan to cut production about a fourth in the July-September period. And they will continue to aid dealers by payment of special bonuses on each car sold.

Soaring Inventory of New Autos—Stocks Rise From Record Low To Record High in Seven Months



© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.
Source: Automotive News

Fast amortization of new facilities related to U. S. defense is being sought by a growing number of companies.

Steel-ingot producers are among those seeking fast write-offs. Officials of leading steel companies estimate the industry will need from 2 to 4 million tons of additional ingot capacity annually for years ahead.

Railroads recently have filed many applications for fast write-offs of freight cars, diesel locomotives and traffic-control equipment. Freight carloadings so far this year have averaged 9 per cent above a year ago.

Other applicants for fast amortization include companies in aluminum, petroleum, power and light, gas pipelines, chemicals and electronics.

Financing of business expansion has become easier. Corporate profits in the first quarter were 16 per cent above a year ago and the margin will rise further in the second quarter. Dollars added to corporate depreciation reserves will exceed 14 billion this year, compared with 8 billion in 1950 and only 4.3 billion in 1946.

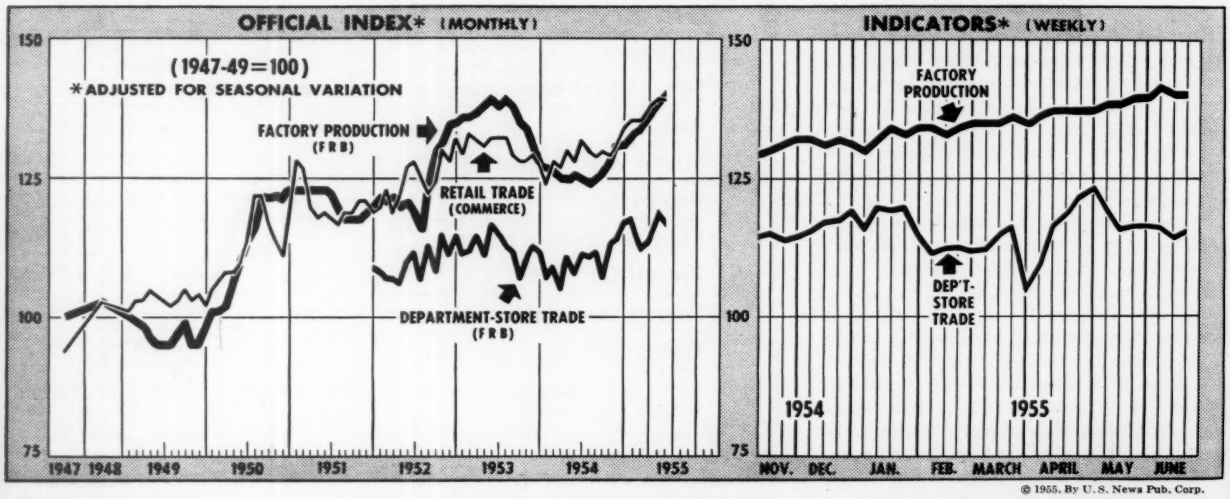
The securities markets provided corporations with about 4.2 billions of new capital in the first half of 1955, a fifth more than a year ago.

Business activity is strong. Steel mills scheduled a record tonnage for the week ended June 25. Paperboard production, 15 per cent ahead of last year, reflects a record demand for paper boxes used in shipping goods.

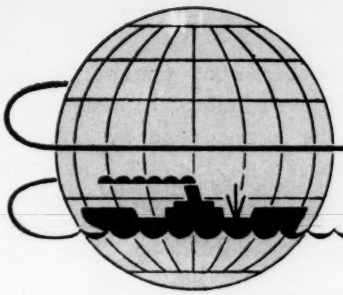
Prices of sensitive commodities edged higher in the week ended June 21. There were gains in tin, zinc, copper scrap, hides and print cloth.

The cost of living was unchanged between April 15 and May 15.

The rise in capital expenditures of business is likely to continue for many months. It offers strong assurance that the swing of the business cycle is still upward.



© 1955, By U. S. News Pub. Corp.



Business Around the World

NEW YORK • WASHINGTON

›› Probably not since the '20s has there been so much interest on Wall Street in foreign securities and ways of peddling them.

Investment bankers and brokers are working on all kinds of ideas to make it easier and more attractive for U.S. investors to buy these securities.

High-blown theory is that it's better to invest privately overseas than to have the U.S. Government continue expensive aid programs. That sounds good but it isn't much of a selling point with individual investors.

The tax gimmick--ways of avoiding the capital-gains tax--is what attracts investor attention. That's the special attraction of the American-sponsored investment trusts set up in Canada in the last year and also of the similar trusts operating in Panama, Tangier and other out-of-the-way spots.

›› The wealthier, more sophisticated type of investor can see the advantages of these foreign-investment trusts. The same type has recently been buying rather heavily in London, Frankfurt and other European stock markets.

But the average American investor fights shy of foreign securities. He remembers what happened in the '30s. He fears that he won't get his dividends because of exchange controls. Or he fears expropriation.

Certain New York brokers figure Washington can help combat such fears. And they have proposed a plan to the Foreign Operations Administration.

Investment guarantees of the FOA, under the plan, would be extended to foreign securities held by American investment trusts.

Direct investments abroad now can be guaranteed by the FOA against expropriation or inconvertibility of currency.

The U.S. Treasury has also been asked by other investment groups to give special tax concessions on investment trusts containing foreign securities.

Some of the biggest banks and brokerage houses in New York are doing a lot of scratching around in this foreign-trust field. It's worth watching.

›› American banks and insurance companies show an increasing willingness to put money into foreign development loans.

A good indicator is the steady rise in "participations" in foreign loans made by the World Bank. The commercial bank or insurance firm takes a piece of a loan. These participations are sold without the World Bank's guarantee.

Such participations in the year ended June 30 reached a record total of about 100 million dollars. In the previous year, the total was 25 million.

›› Another avenue to foreign lending is to be opened up. U.S. Senate last week passed a bill authorizing U.S. membership in a new lending organization.

(over)

The International Finance Corporation, a proposed affiliate of the World Bank, will participate jointly with private investors in development loans mainly in underdeveloped countries. Such loans will not be guaranteed by the government of the receiving country, as World Bank loans must be.

The U.S. is to put up about 35 million dollars of a revolving fund of 100 million for the IFC. A large number of other member countries in the World Bank have also indicated they would join the IFC.

This will be a new type of venture, commingling public and private investment funds in approved projects. The idea has been kicked around for several years. It was resuscitated last November by Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey to appease the demands of the Latin Americans for more investment funds.

>> Five big American banks are setting up a private credit agency to provide medium-term loans for U.S. exporters of capital goods.

The American Overseas Finance Corporation--with capital of 10 million dollars already subscribed by the five banks and more to come--will be welcomed by U.S. exporters trying to meet competition from other exporting countries whose governments offer export credit on special terms.

The Export-Import Bank has been actively engaged in export financing in the U.S. But EXIM officials are glad to see the AOFC come into the field. The AOFC operation should lighten the load on the EXIM Bank.

The more exporter credit is available through the AOFC and other private means, the further the EXIM Bank can spread its export credit funds and guarantees. EXIM funds are intended to supplement and back up private financing.

In addition to ordinary export credits tied to specific transactions, the EXIM Bank since last November has stood ready to set up lines of credit for U.S. exporters of capital goods. This new mechanism is especially helpful where exporters have made sales on an installment basis. Despite a slow start on this program, the EXIM Bank on May 31 had lines of credit outstanding in the amount of 128 million dollars.

Activity by both private banks and the EXIM Bank in the export-credit field indicates increasing interest by U.S. firms in world markets.

>> U.S. imports haven't changed greatly in value since 1951. But U.S. foreign travel, increasing steadily year after year to new records, has become a large source of dollars for foreigners.

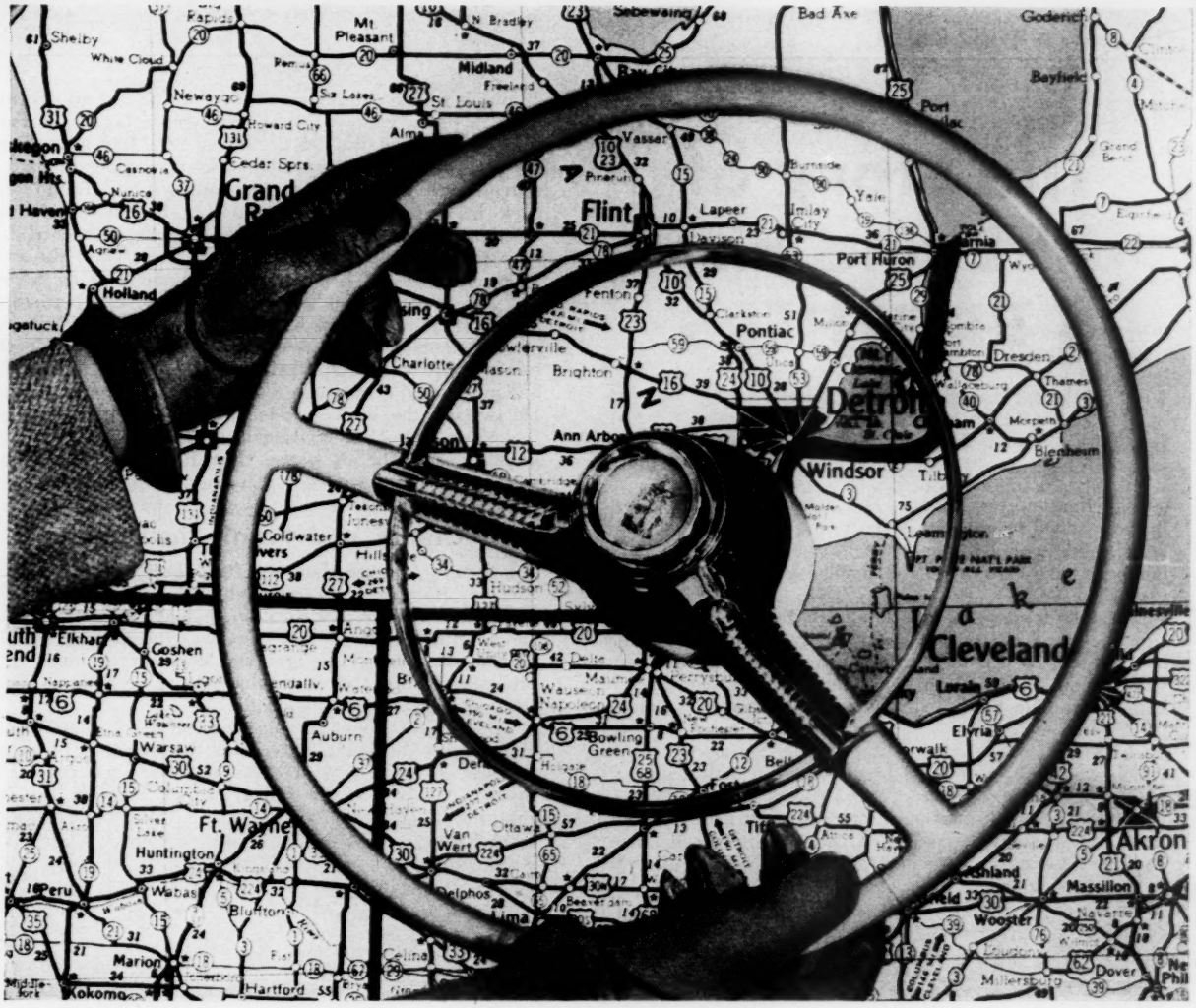
Foreign travel will eat up about 1.5 billions of the U.S. tourists' dollars this year, according to Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks.

Last year, expenditures for foreign travel came to $1,360,000,000. Of this, 960 million was spent in foreign countries. Foreign shipping companies and airlines picked up 186 million in fares; U.S. companies, 214 million.

American travelers spend more money in Canada and Mexico than anywhere else --about half the total outlay is in those countries.

But Europe and the Mediterranean area are steadily becoming more popular. Last year, a third of the total foreign-travel money was spent there. About 420,000 American tourists were in Europe in 1954. The total promises to be considerably larger this year.

On overseas trips, two thirds of the American tourists last year went by air. Each year a higher proportion flies. Still, the actual number of ship passengers has also risen steadily, particularly in European travel.



Copyright by Rand McNally & Company, Chicago

PHOTO COURTESY CHRYSLER CORPORATION

Will "Detroit" deliver 6,000,000 cars this year?

"Any man's guess," you might say. But the automakers don't do it that way. Every ounce of their effort in manufacturing and selling is engineered to kill off guess-work . . . from *knowing* the weather-resistance of body finishes, to *knowing* the selling power of media. Years ago they ran the magazine out on their "proving ground" and clocked its performance beyond question.

In those days they had 34,000,000 magazine circulation available. 162,000,000 copies a month are at their command today. Never such a sales army. *More people are reading more magazines than ever before.*

But more than circulation vitality—there are some things magazines just do downright better than any other medium. In 1955, an automobile in full-color in a magazine page is still unsurpassed. It is alluring. It is authentic. It is vividly real. It says, eloquently, *"Drive me!"*

"Color is more and more the final key to car sales," say auto executives. Any doubts? Open your magazines. See the panoply of pinks, pale greens and blues . . . in perfect reproduction, more faithful than a mirror—thanks to matchless presswork. *Why, even the whites are whiter in a magazine!*

How about the niceties of a new dashboard design; the rakish chrome trim of a wrap-around windshield; the rich, warm textures of fabric and leather? Where else can they sell with such vivid effectiveness as in the color pages of a magazine? So, too, engineering features . . . the economies of a new carburetor; the construction of a new V-8; the flow of a new air-conditioning system . . .

And, happily: A picture in a magazine is permanent, not fleeting . . . there to be pondered, passed around, picked up and referred to, again and again.

Here, in a model plant in the heart of Louisville, we of Fawcett-Dearing turn out a million magazines every day. We do this with high craftsmanship, a fair profit and the satisfaction of being on stage while a great drama is being lived.

Fawcett-Dearing

Printing Company, Louisville, Kentucky

A member of "the Fawcett family"

PRODUCING A MILLION MAGAZINES A DAY

The Story of IKE and his 4 BROTHERS

[Continued from page 52]

outside the state of Kansas. The date: October 14, 1890. By now David was twenty-seven years old, with a wife and three children under four years of age. That was a lot of family to take care of on the small pay he got in the railroad shop.

Certainly letters went back and forth between Denison and Dickinson County, Kansas, and family members must have sensed, even if it never was expressed, that life wasn't too easy in Texas. David's brother-in-law remembered he had taken a big liking to David even in the short time he had known him.

"In 1889 I was a foreman at the Belle Springs Creamery, which was then building a big new plant beside the railroad at the edge of Abilene," Mr. Musser told me. "It was one of the biggest and most prosperous enterprises in Dickinson County, and it was owned and operated by the River Brethren. I had heard that David was working for small pay as a railroad man in Denison. So I remembered he liked things mechanical and I wrote and offered him a job as a mechanic-engineer in the creamery. David accepted, although his starting salary was less than fifty dollars a month. This was not much of a raise in pay for David; but he liked the idea of getting into something that interested him."

So in 1891 David and Ida moved to Abilene with their three sons. David was back in the midst of the River Brethren he had known all his life. And all the old customs of the sect settled around the family again, and the pattern of that religion (which certainly hadn't been lost during the period of the years in Texas) was resumed. David's brother Ira, like his father, was a River Brethren minister. The tenets of this little Mennonite splinter church held all the meaning in the lives of this generation of Eisenhowers. It was the very core and center of their conscious existence.

Earl says, looking back on them, "They had a steady place to worship where the congregation would go. Many years later, when Dad and Mother became interested in what was called the Bible Students, all met at our house. And everyone had something to say about the Scripture lessons. Mother played the piano, and they sang a hymn before the lesson and a hymn afterwards, and they had their prayers. It was truly a prayer meeting. Everybody entered into the discussion. There was no single person who read the Scripture and told everybody what it meant. Different people read the Scripture and they all discussed it."

On August 9, 1892, a fourth son was born. He was named Roy J. Eisenhower. (It is likely that the J. stood for Jacob, after his grandfather, but Roy preferred to say it was just an initial.) "Father Eisenhower said that some of his children didn't have middle names, they would just give them an initial," Roy's widow Edna says. According to a family story as reported by Edna, "When Roy was born, Father Eisenhower—quite in fun, of course—was going to pack his suitcase and leave because Roy was a boy." David didn't pack his suitcase, although he was to have three more chances to have the fun of pretending he wished to do it. On May 12, 1894, a son Paul was born. On February 1, 1898, Earl Dewey Eisenhower was born. And on September 15, 1899, Milton Stover Eisenhower was born. Seven boys born, six boys to survive and grow up in the little town of Abilene before they reached out for the world. Paul at ten months died of diphtheria.

Paul marked a break, in a sense, in the early family years. He divided the brothers into two age groups. There were the older boys—Arthur, Edgar, Dwight and Roy—all born within a span of six years, then Earl and Milton, much younger.

Games and Pranks in Abilene

It was a full life that was lived in the white house in Abilene. It was a purposeful life. There was fun. There were pranks. There were games that kept it exuberant and happy. But behind all this there was the daily routine, the regular disciplines, the firm and constant exposure to the principles of life, the values that had to be planted and developed in these growing minds.

And without doubt the most powerful influence upon the growing Eisenhower children was the influence of religion; religion as it was lived and practiced by their parents and their uncles and aunts and their neighbors in the River Brethren community. When Earl thinks back to his childhood he says. "These people are very dear to me. There is something about them. They are so deeply religious that whether you believe what they believe you have to admire them. They tried every day of their lives—that is, my father and mother and everybody around them—to live life as if they were in a church. They never wanted to hurt anybody. They never thought of going out and doing something on Wednesday that they couldn't do on Sunday. It never entered their heads to do a thing like that.

"Of course the River Brethren at that time—it's not true today but it was then—had to cut their hair long. The men, I mean. They had long beards and most of them were beautiful beards, believe me. They could wear a collar, but not a tie.

"The women had to keep their hair covered. In church they had little lace bonnets they put on. Outdoors they put on large black bonnets. When my aunt died—just a few years ago, when she was ninety—she had on her little lace bonnet with little pigtails on it. They were cute little things, and she was cute with it. I admire all those people.

"And I'll tell you another thing: if the people today would practice what they preach, this would be a lot better world. I think those people have a lot to do with the kind of world we have out in Kansas. They had a great influence on Dwight and Milton and the rest of the boys and me. I think that influence, whether we acknowledge it or not, was so ingrained that we can't get over it."

And ingrained it was. The Bible, its religious and moral precepts, was a steady and articulate part of every day's being. Religion, to these River Brethren, was the focus and directive force of their lives.

"You must remember," says Milton, "that the whole philosophy of my parents was based upon religious belief. Any human being who abided by the cardinal concepts of their religious philosophy—and by the way, that really meant ob-

. . . Edgar: "Religion to my father and mother was a way of life; they lived it . . . They were neighbors in the true sense of the word"

serving the Ten Commandments—well, he was *good*. Anyone who didn't, was *not* good. This was the difference; there was *no other difference*."

And Edgar adds: "Religion to my father and mother was a way of life; they lived it. They believed in the brotherhood of men and, as a result, they were neighbors in the true sense of the word. For instance, many a time I have gotten up in the middle of the night when it was snowing, when it was raining, and got a lantern to walk with my mother to the house of a neighbor who was sick and needed help. I know, for instance, that many of the neighbors used to come to us to borrow those little things that were necessary to complete a meal; although we were poor, we always had enough to eat. That was largely because we raised most of the stuff on our little plot of land. We always had vegetables and milk and cream and eggs and chickens and fruit, and people would come and borrow from us. Whether they returned it or not didn't make any difference. It was part of Mother's and Father's way of living."

Arthur recalls: "We got down on our knees while Father prayed."

"Father and Mother both quoted freely from the Bible," says Milton. "They were really their own concordances. Nothing humiliated them so much as to have to use the actual concordance to look up a scriptural reference, because they knew the Bible from the beginning to the end—forwards and backwards—Mother, I think, a little better than Dad. She once memorized 1365 verses in six months, according to the records of her home church at Mount Sidney, Virginia."

The basic precept of David's and Ida's religion was the fatherhood of God and the sonship of man; the dignity of man, the independence and equality of man. Their job, as they saw it, was to establish firmly in their sons that same conscience which guided their own lives. With that established, all problems could be resolved.

Outside of this deeply religious nature, trained into him from infancy, what kind of a man was David J. Eisenhower? Mr. Harger's Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle* gives the bare

—Courtesy of Edna Eisenhower

FAMILY FOOTBALL LINE-UP—ABILENE, 1925

David, center; Arthur and Roy, guards; Earl, tackle; Ida, quarterback

. . . "According to Milton, his father's mind resembled Dwight's 'because it was completely logical' "

bones of his business activities, reciting how he climbed upward from the lowly job in the Belle Springs Creamery in 1916—after twenty-five years of hard, manual toil six days a week for long hours. "Mr. Eisenhower was one of the community's most respected citizens, and was active in business until 1931, when he retired," the newspaper said in David's obituary. His working career, then, lasted forty-six years. He lived in retirement for another nine.

Strong Belief in Savings

"In 1916," the newspaper says, "he became engineer for the gas plant of the United Companies and later local manager of the plant. Before his retirement, he served as chairman for the employee's benefit and savings plan of the United Companies."

Under this savings plan for the employees, the newspaper said, "Each employee was required to save 10% of his earnings and invest the same in bonds, a home, or sound stocks.

"Mr. Eisenhower checked the 800 employees, saw to it that they made monthly reports of their savings and advised them on investments. He believed strongly in saving and preached it to the employees at stated meetings." When the depression came the companies, like others, suffered considerably, but the employees had their investments up-to-date and appreciated Mr. Eisenhower's interest in their matters.

Arthur, his banker son, relates a few things about David's personality. "The most outstanding trait about Father," Arthur said, "was his steadiness of habits in every respect and his strong conviction on what was right and wrong. I never saw him really angry except when he had to administer punishment—he was very mild tempered. I never saw him in tears or overcome by any emotion. He didn't have much sense of humor. [All the other sons disagree with this view.] He never poked fun at anyone or anything. He was always too serious. He never talked to me about his own struggles in life.

"He had no use for alcohol. He didn't smoke. He was very much opposed to races, and cards, smoking and liquor." Asked what his father's recreation was, Arthur said, "Work was his recreation."

Edgar, looking back, said his father was "a plugger." "His voice was a mellow, soft, guttural voice. A German talks in his throat."

Milton remembers his father as "a man of few words, undemonstrative, with a sort of quiet dignity about him. He appreciated personal friendships above everything else except his religious beliefs. He was well read. He really was something of a scholar. Above all, in every relationship he was just.

"I remember one incident that shows this last quality. Another boy and I went to church one day to get some pigeons up in the tower; I understood from my friend that we had permission to do this. The reason the pigeons were in the tower is because it had a broken window; the pigeons could easily get in. We caught some pigeons and brought them home. Both of us kept pigeons as a hobby. After we did this, the elders of the church charged that we had broken the window. I knew we hadn't, and I told my father so. But he, rather than have any question about it, paid for the window, but told me that he thoroughly understood. In other words, we weren't punished just on the spur of the moment. He thought things through. In this particular incident, rather than have any question, he paid the bill. This was typical of him; and that really is one of my earliest memories which is more substantial than mere impression."

Milton disagreed completely with Arthur's dictum that his father was too serious for a sense of humor. "There was always a twinkle in his eyes," Milton said. "His eyes were almost black and therefore showed up the twinkle." He said that while his father did not drink, or play cards, or bet, or swear, he became more tolerant in his later years in his attitude toward smoking and playing cards. In fact, said Milton, "We played cards and smoked in our home—all of the boys did after they were a little older."

Milton feels that despite his father's years of unremitting toil, he had very real hours of recreation and relaxation. "After dinner we had Bible reading, when we were younger," Milton said. "As we got older, that custom was abandoned. Father then read his books; or his friends came in for the visiting he loved. He pitched horseshoes once in a while. He did not carry on a regular physical recreation program, unless it were a wrestling match with Ike or one of the other sons.

"Up until the last twenty years of his life, his work required physical energy and he therefore didn't require physical activity *after* work."

According to Milton, his father's mind resembled Dwight's, "because it was completely logical—as logical as mathematics.

"Father was always neatly but inexpensively dressed. Throughout most of his life he was an engineer, and thus he worked in overalls; but they were spotlessly clean when he went to work. When he came home and changed clothes he was always neat, but never did he own expensive clothing, nor did he make a fetish of dressing."

Religion vs. Discouragement

The River Brethren, like other Pennsylvania sects, were "unworldly." They did not believe in "showiness" in anything. Most were quiet individuals with simple tastes and modest ambitions. "When Dad failed in his business in Hope, Kansas," Milton said, "he wasn't discouraged and broken down spiritually. He accepted the misfortune with the deep faith which governed his soul, and left for new work. As you know, after a few years the family moved to Abilene. There he worked at the Belle Spring Creamery, some times seven days a week—and he made good. He had substantial savings in the bank and in stocks when he died."

It was Milton who said that although his father managed in his later years with the gas company to put aside enough money to take care of his old age and his wife's, about half the family savings was wiped out in the early years of the depression.

Earl remembered his father's dislike for incurring bills. He preferred to pay cash. "Dad insisted on the first of every month that every bill be paid," said Earl. "You couldn't carry a bill over. If you had to go hungry—and of course we never did—if you had to go without clothes—and of course we never did—every single bill had to be paid. I don't believe Dad ever bought a thing on time except his house." To Earl, the outstanding trait in his father was his "precision in everything he did." "If you ever noticed Dad's handwriting," Earl said, "you will know that every letter was perfectly formed. Dad's desk was always clean. He was always precise in his accounts. They balanced to the penny."

One of David's grown-up grandchildren who still remem-

. . . Earl: "I was with the President when he made six major decisions in half an hour. On a good day in Abilene, my mother would make one a minute"

bers him is Major John, the President's son. "I was always impressed when I was in school trying to learn a couple of languages, by the fact that my grandfather spoke German," John told me. "He seemed to me, a youngster, to be stern. I remember once, for example, that we tried to get him to wear low shoes. He wore high shoes always. Well, we almost forced him to change. We took him to town and got him a pair of low shoes. He wore them about a day or two and that was all. He was a pleasant gentleman. He seemed to me to be rather aloof, at least during the years that I knew him, and I would like to point out, of course, that he was sixty-eight before I ever got to know him at all."

According to Amanda Musser, David, like his sons, wore spectacles for many years, and unlike his sons, "He had a good head of hair to the day when he died."

From the recollections of Ida Stover Eisenhower by those who knew her there emerges today a picture of a woman of charm and gaiety, a more dynamic creature than was her solid and faithful husband; a woman more schooled and certain, even, in her fundamentalist religious beliefs than the man she married. Ida Eisenhower sang, laughed, played hymns on the upright piano in her parlor, and memorized prodigious stretches of her Bible. Although working hard for her brood of boys, she had time to do errands of kindness that took her into the homes of her neighbors.

"A Wonderful Pair"

Her marriage to David Eisenhower lasted from her schoolgirl days in the little university at Lecompton, Kansas, in 1885, until his death in 1942—or fifty-seven years. Thereafter she failed rapidly, and although her body remained strong, her memory was failing when she died in her sleep in 1946 at the age of eighty-four.

"She had a most vivacious disposition," Milton said. "She loved music. She had studied mathematics. She even at one time decided to study law because she didn't want the man who had taken some of Father's money to get away with it, whereas Dad was sort of resigned to the loss.

"All through her life Mother with her very happy disposition, her gracious smile, her warmth, her selfless concern for others, was the one who was talked about, rather than Dad. But Mother and Father were a partnership in every sense of the word. I am quite convinced that Dad with his quiet disposition had just as much influence on us boys as did Mother. They were a wonderful pair!"

"Mother was a slave to her friends and her neighbors," said Edgar. "As I have told you before, many a night I have known Mother to get up, take a lantern, and go to some neighbor's house, to help a woman in pain or distress. Mother had a certain amount of medical magic which always soothed a person in distress, and she would comfort her neighbor until a doctor could come. I think maybe we all learned a degree of the spirit of service for others from Mother, because we all experienced those incidents with her."

"I have known two extremely busy people in my life. My *brother* and my *mother*," said Earl. "Recently in Washington I was with the President when he made six major decisions in half an hour. On a good day in Abilene, my mother would make one a minute."

That her sense of music and happiness lasted well into her closing years is apparent in the memories of Arthur, the banker, and Major John Eisenhower, Ida's grandson. Arthur recalls that in her old age, when she and he made a trip to Washington, an army plane was placed at their disposal. This was long before Dwight became a general—let alone the President of the United States. It was a plane with an open cockpit. Dwight Eisenhower's mother climbed into it gaily, had a parachute strapped to her, and flew over the city of Washington with gusto.

The President's son, who visited his grandmother in her old age says, "I can remember her humming. She had a happy disposition. Every evening she would go into the room where she had her piano and play a hymn or two."

Their own unfinished college education led both David and Ida to set much store on higher education for their sons. David, indeed, regretting his own lack of a university education, took courses with the International Correspondence School in Scranton, Pennsylvania, which gave him a diploma in engineering in 1904. The framed diploma is still on the wall of the home in which the Eisenhower boys grew up.

All the boys agree that neither David nor Ida tried to impose their views on education upon them. Milton phrased their education technique in this way:

"We were all taught how to work and we were taught to be thorough in working. If we didn't do a task right the first time, we had to do it over again until it was well done.

"We were taught how to study. All of us were taught to be responsible. I am sure that our parents went on the theory that you learn to be responsible only by carrying responsibility. And thus, we had to carry responsibility when we were very young.

"Please don't interpret the remark 'taught to be responsible' to mean that we were *directed* to be. Mother and Father were quite adept in what the modern psychologist calls 'indirect counseling.'

"You can imagine the fortitude and tolerance that Father and Mother had to have with six boys, all of whom were normal, healthy, mischievous, and constantly getting into trouble. I am sure they worried deeply, just as other parents do, about the physical and moral well-being of their children. But having laid down certain basic rules, they believed from there on in a minimum of supervision. So they suffered on many occasions in silence—a fact which I really didn't appreciate until a great many years later."

Education by Example

Arthur agrees with Milton that neither parent tried to force the children to accept parental opinions. The education was by example and persuasion. "Father didn't try to force his views on us at all," says Arthur. "Neither did Mother."

Earl told me, "There was no pressure put on us by our parents to choose this career or that. Of course, there were a few hints. Mother might say, 'Earl, I think you would make a good doctor. You have the presence around a sick person; you'd be good at it.' But she never said, 'Earl, you are going to be a doctor.' I never heard Dad tell anybody that he *had* to be something. I am sure Milton was never told to study journalism. Certainly no one told me to be an engineer.

"I know that Mother hoped one of us would be a doctor, but she never expressed a hope in imperative form."

"The reason Father and Mother did not try to tell their sons what they should do with their lives," Milton told me,

. . . Dwight: "We were very poor, but the glory of America is that we didn't know it then"

"is that Father remembered most vividly how *his* father tried to persuade him to be a farmer when he basically didn't want to be a farmer. Father therefore had the conviction that it wasn't the thing to do. Now, it does happen that one of my brothers, Earl, is a graduate in engineering from the University of Washington; but I am quite certain this was not an influence brought to bear on him by my father, even though Father himself studied engineering and admired the profession."

Earl summed up the family precepts as follows:

"We were taught right from wrong. We were taught also that when you work, you work; and when you play, you play. You don't mix them; you can't mix them and do a good job. . . ."

"The word 'hate' was never mentioned in our family," Earl says. "Of course we were taught to hate evil. But you never hated people. You might get angry with them; you might think they were wrong; you might pity them; but you never hated them.

"I also remember that Mother said, 'No matter what you do, be sure that you have trained your hands, so that you can have the satisfaction of doing something physically. . . .' "

All the Eisenhower brothers agree that their education came from their parents. Edgar, the lawyer, phrases it this way:

"The fortunate thing for us boys is that Father and Mother complemented one another. Mother had the fire. Mother had the ambition. Mother had the personality. She had the joy. She had a song in her heart.

"Dad was the anchor. He was the one who kept everybody's feet on the ground. As I look back now, I realize Dad had a quiet influence on us that we didn't recognize until we got older and began to experience some of the responsibilities of life."

It remained for the third brother, Dwight, the President, to broadcast to the nation a summation of the lessons which David and Ida taught him and his brothers, and to link those lessons with his own suggested way to solve national problems of the current era. At the laying of the cornerstone of the Eisenhower Museum in Abilene, June 4, 1952, the President said:

". . . I want to call attention to the virtues of the times, to—at least as my brothers and I devoutly believe—the extraordinary virtues of our parents. First of all, they believed the admonition 'the fear of God is the beginning of all wisdom.' Their Bibles were a live and lusty influence in their lives. There was nothing sad about their religion. They believed in it with a happiness and a contentment that all would be well if a man would take the cards that he had been dealt in this world and play them to the best of his ability. . . .

"And they were frugal, possibly of necessity, because I have found out in later years we were very poor, but the glory of America is that we didn't know it then. All that we knew was that our parents—of great courage—could say to us: Opportunity is all about you. Reach out and take it. Do you want to go to school? Well, go. What are you afraid of? Do you have to stand around until someone comes along with a fat checkbook and takes care of every possible difficulty you can have in that school? They didn't believe so. They were thrifty, they were economical, and they were honest. . . .

"They were people of great courage, and I think they never stooped—they never had time—to hate or despise an enemy or those that used them spitefully. I don't think they ever loved the drought and the locusts that ruined their first business down in the little town of Hope, a few miles south of here—a drought and the locusts that really drove them to Texas and brought about the strange paradox in our family that I was born in Texas. But they accepted these trials and tribulations and met them with courage and with never a thought of failure. They were a part and parcel of their community, of the philosophy that then governed our lives. . . ."

"Those days were essentially simple ones. We did not feel intimately any relationship with Iran. We did not think about needing the tin and tungsten of Malaya, or the uranium of the Belgian Congo, or the tin of Bolivia. We felt, rather, independent and alone. . . . But now we realize the world is a great interdependent, complex entity. . . . We have learned no part of us can prosper, no nation can really in the long run be at peace and have security unless others enjoy the same.

". . . And yet, in spite of the difficulties of the problems we have, I ask you this one question: if each of us in his own mind would dwell more upon those simple virtues—integrity, courage, self-confidence and unshakable belief in his Bible—would not some of these problems tend to simplify themselves? Would not we, after having done our very best with them, be content to leave the rest with the Almighty, and not to charge all our fellow men with the fault of bringing us where we were and are? I think it is possible that a contemplation, a study, a belief of those simple virtues would help us mightily."

Through their son, Dwight, then, the lifelong thinking, character and teaching of David and Ida Eisenhower reached out from their small Kansas town, extending the heritage to all Americans.

Chapter 3

CHILDHOOD IN ABILENE

IN 1900, the turn of the century, there were eight Eisenhowers. David, now thirty-seven years old, was the father of six sons, and was still a mechanical engineer at the creamery. His wages, even when he left there in 1912, were only $100 a month. Here was a family of boys: Arthur, fourteen, Edgar, almost twelve, Dwight, ten, Roy, eight, and the young ones, Earl, almost two, and Milton a baby. And Ida, the mother, was humming, happy, and working hard. Theirs was a humble but happy home in a small farming town. Kansas, in 1900, was not many years away from the status

. . . Earl: "When Arthur and then Dwight left home, Dad's dollars went further. So Dad added to the house"

of a frontier state. Many a Kansan remembered the violent days of its early settlement, and those fierce struggles which won for the territory the descriptive name of "Bleeding Kansas."

I asked Edgar about his boyhood memories of the town in which he grew up. "Abilene was a typical western town," he said. "As a boy I had many of the old timers who had lived there during the cattle days tell me about the things that had happened, some of which were imaginary, and some of which I know they must have really experienced. You see, Abilene was the end of the Chisholm trail; it was to Abilene that the longhorn cattle were driven from Texas; it was there that they were loaded on the Union Pacific Railway. And those cattle, of course, after their drive on the trail, had to stay around for a month or longer to get back the fat they'd lost on the drive. During that time the cowboys didn't have anything else to do but drink and play poker and cause trouble. Abilene was quite a tough town, in its early years."

Arthur said that the President was shocked when he came home to Abilene after World War II to notice that the dog races were being held there on Sundays. "They wouldn't let us play ball games on the Sabbath when we were boys," said the President.

Milton has said this of the old Abilene: "By the time we boys romped the streets of Abilene, all was peaceful and serene. My father told me of the days when the Texas cattle were brought in, and of the drinking and shooting that took place when the great herds arrived for shipment. But Abilene was quiet, perhaps even smugly so, when we were boys there."

Quietness on Sunday

Arthur remembered particularly the quiet that prevailed in the little town on Sundays. "In our youth there were no movies, of course." In Earl's earliest boyhood recollections, Abilene was a town of no paved streets. It had dusty roads. There were of course no automobiles. A boy could ride a bicycle, if he had one, along these dirt roads, but the horse-drawn buggy was the most usual means of transportation for the townsfolk.

In this quiet village of about 5,000 people, then, the Eisenhower family moved in 1898 from a small house on Second Street to a bigger white frame house on South Fourth Street. This house, like the first one in which they lived, was on the wrong side of the tracks, in the parlance of small town America. But it was bigger and better fitted for the large family than their old home. It had been the home of Uncle Abraham, David's brother, a veterinarian who had decided to move West. David had been given the opportunity to buy it from him, on easy terms. The house was plain, and not very large. But it had more rooms than the old house. And even more important it had land—land for a garden and fruit trees to help feed a family of six growing boys.

Edgar described it thus: "The outstanding feature of the property was the barn," he said. "It had been built by Uncle Abe as a veterinary hospital. Here he had a place big enough to keep sick horses and cattle; he had an operating room in connection with it. Besides the operating room, there were at least a half dozen single stalls and one double stall. The haymow was open. I'm sure eight or ten loads of hay could have been put in there at one time. The chicken pen was adjacent to the barn on the east, and the 'outside plumbing' stood near by. We kept a cow, a horse, chickens, and, occasionally, pigs.

"The ground area was approximately three acres. About half an acre was in garden, planted to such things as peas, beans, radishes, lettuce, celery, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, grapes, peaches, and other small vegetables and fruit. The larger area outside of the garden fence was devoted to sweet corn, field corn and kaffir corn, or Indian maize, as it was called. Later, the larger part of this outside field was planted to alfalfa, and fruit trees were planted in the remainder of the ground. The place was completely surrounded by maple trees. Years later these were topped because their roots were sapping the food out of the ground; moreover, the trees made so much shade that nothing would grow near them."

Earl recalled: "We had a windmill on the east, and we had a big tank—a water tank—east of that on big stilts. I can remember when we had no running water in the house, and no toilet facilities."

Edgar said, "We took our baths in a big tin washtub in the kitchen. Our bath water was heated on the stove." "That's the way we took our baths," said Earl. "We got our wash water from the well. I can remember a pot-bellied stove that heated the two front rooms, with a little register in the ceiling to give some heat to the bedrooms."

"When Arthur and then Dwight left home, Dad's dollars went further," Earl continued. "So Dad added to the house. When water came to our end of town, he put in water and sewerage and a furnace. Then Dad moved the kitchen stove, and put in gas. There were gradual changes in the house from the time we were youngsters until Mother died."

"When we were young, the only refrigerator we had was a little wooden affair. I'm not sure when the electric refrigerator arrived, but I would guess that it was about 1920. By that time Milton was the only son at home. Our telephone was installed about 1913 or 1914, I think."

Arthur, the oldest boy, can remember a home in which there were no electric lights. In the early years, illumination was by kerosene lamp.

"We had electric lights before I left home in 1905," he told me. "We didn't have much plumbing in those days, nor modern bathrooms, but there was electric light and we had running water. The water in Abilene comes from a big spring. It is the purest water in the world."

Small-Town Environment

Within that little white frame house, which changed as the comforts increased through the years, six Eisenhower brothers lived from infancy and young boyhood until their later teens, and within the home's small-town environment their character was shaped. Edgar, Earl and Milton told me much of the daily routine the brothers shared from their earliest years.

Edgar said: "Dad was the alarm clock. We boys slept upstairs and Dad and Mother slept downstairs. Dad would come to the bottom of the stairs and call, Boys! Then we would all get up. We didn't have any other alarm clock. I never minded getting up in cold weather because I was always a rugged individual. But we got up in the cold weather in a very odd way. We'd take our clothes under the covers

. . . Milton: "The first thing that always happened after dinner was the reading of the Bible"

and put them on, so that when we got out we weren't hit by the cold air. In our bedroom, we didn't have a fire."

The President has a great many weighty matters on his mind these days, and his routine from day to day is arduous. But he has never forgotten the routine of his childhood, as I found out when I talked to him.

He recalled that when Father Eisenhower was working in the creamery, the daily routine went about like this: Father got up at about five o'clock in the morning, and Mother shortly after. Dad would build a fire in the cook stove, and start to set the table. Then he would call the boys. When they were all downstairs, Dad would read a passage or two from the Bible, and then sit down and ask the blessing.

"He would leave the house around six o'clock and go to work, usually carrying his lunch," Earl told me. "If he wanted a hot lunch, it was one of the boy's duties to carry Dad his lunch. Dad never came home at noon."

"As I recall it," Earl continued, "Dad used to get home by six o'clock in the evening. Then we would have supper. After supper, two of the boys would do the dishes.

"Then we gathered in the front room or dining room and Dad would read passages from the Bible. He might pass the Bible around the circle, and all of us got a chance to read. Finally there was bedtime, when Dad got up and wound the clock on the wall. You could hear the ticking no matter where you were. When Dad started winding, you might as well get ready for bed, for that was the bedtime signal."

Milton said, "The first thing that always happened after dinner was the reading of the Bible. Dad had a way of inducing his sons to read the entire Bible from cover to cover with considerable interest. For example, when it was my turn to read, I was permitted to read until I made a mistake; but if one of my brothers caught me in an error, then he was *privileged* to read. Well, this was a good way to get us to read the Bible mechanically. I am not sure it was a good way to help us understand it.

"After the reading of the Bible, we had to get our school lessons. This was always on the agenda. As I recall, we did not discuss our problems and our progress with Dad unless we took the initiative. If we had a problem we wanted to discuss with him, he was always available, but he did not make a practice of inquiring into the progress we made at any particular period.

"Food in the family was simple and nourishing rather than fancy, but there always was plenty of it."

Edgar said, "We always served our meals family style, and we boys made a game out of eating. I remember that when we had fried eggs or some other thing that we particularly liked, we would slip a piece under our plate, out of sight, so that when the other boys had finished theirs, we would

—From the Eisenhower Museum

Dwight inscribed this youthful photograph. He is leaning against the tree, holding a rifle.

. . . Milton: "My brothers and I were raised on Pennsylvania Dutch stories, food and tradition"

pull it out and exhibit it in order to make the others envious of the last bite we had saved.

"I remember also that pies were always placed on the table, uncut. It was the duty of one of the boys to cut the pie. Then all of the others had the right to choose before the cutter. I know we got so good at this that there wasn't the slightest difference in the size of any of the pieces; and even to this day I can cut a pie in three, five, seven or nine pieces without a variance of a quarter of an ounce in any of them; and of course the even numbers like four, six or eight were a cinch."

Earl said, "Corn meal mush—a plain, wholesome dish, almost unknown today—was the favorite with all the boys. We could eat it three times a day."

Milton remembered that all the Eisenhowers liked good food. "Father was very fond of all the old Pennsylvania Dutch dishes which he had been raised on," he said. "His favorite was fried mush and puddin'. You spell that without a 'g' at the end. It is p-u-d-d-i-n'. Another Pennsylvania Dutch dish was called *schnitz* and *netz*. I'm not sure of the spelling! That is dried apples stewed with dumplings. These were all what one might call 'frugal' dishes. In the early days of Pennsylvania as well as the pioneering days in Kansas, people did not have a great deal. They had to make the most of what they had. But we were all very fond of these frugal dishes.

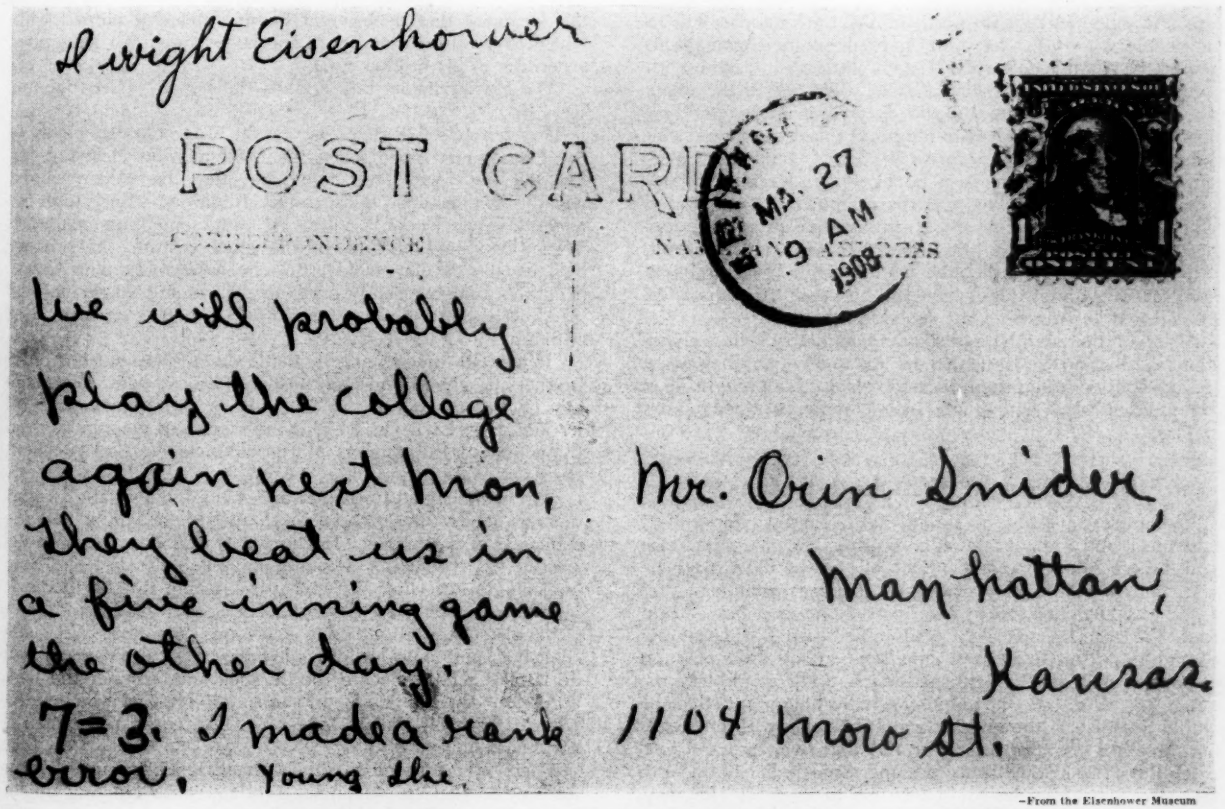
"One rule in our house was that each person had to clean up his plate, no matter whether he liked the food or not. I didn't happen to like a particular kind of pie—a berry pie. I didn't like the little seeds getting in my teeth. But believe me, if we had berry pie, I ate *my piece!*

"My brothers and I were raised on Pennsylvania Dutch stories, food, and tradition. I've eaten more puddin' meat and scrapple and other Pennsylvania Dutch dishes than most residents of Lebanon, Dauphin, and Lancaster counties. . . ."

There were many chores the boys had to do. Their parents kept a cow and they had chickens and a garden.

Arthur recalled: "I never learned to milk and it may seem strange, but I can't recall any other chore at home that I disliked with the exception of cleaning out the stall in the barn."

Edgar remembered there were two chores he disliked more than others, but he did them. He was required to do them. "One of them was to get kindling each morning for the fire the next morning," he said, "and the other was to feed the chickens and gather the eggs. There was something about chickens that I just didn't like. I didn't mind milking the cow and getting in the coal—but kindling was a hard thing for us to find because wood in our area was quite scarce. We didn't have any trees that were being cut down, and we


Dwight Eisenhower
POST CARD
MAY 27
9 AM
1908
We will probably play the college again next Mon, they beat us in a five inning game the other day. 7=3. I made a rank error, Young Ike.
Mr. Orin Snider,
Manhattan,
Kansas.
1104 Moro St.

—From the Eisenhower Museum

A postcard written by "Young Ike" to Orin Snyder, Manhattan, Kansas, May 27, 1908

. . . "The President also has vivid memories of working in the creamery and going with his brother Edgar to sell vegetables. His own working week, in 1911, the year before he entered West Point, was eighty-four hours"

didn't have any boxes that were being broken up. So kindling was a difficult thing. In fact, most of our fires, as I remember, were started with corn cobs. We grew corn on the place. We would soak the dried corn cobs in kerosene and then stick them in the fire box. Then we'd put a couple of pieces of wood over the corn cobs and coal on top of that.

"Like most boys we were not too fond of gardening, but for some reason nearly everything we planted would grow, for which reason Mother always put Dwight and me to transplanting her tomato plants, cabbage and other plants requiring separation.

"In the summertime, we had to tie the cow out for pasture; and in the wintertime we had to heat the water in order to melt the ice in the drinking tub. We both worked in the garden; and of course we had to exchange work on many occasions. All of the boys learned to cook. We did this partly because we liked to create things and partly because Mother needed the help.

"Of course, Dwight and I both had to help with the washing, and when Milton and Earl were babies, there was a part of their washing that wasn't any too enjoyable. We raised vegetables and some fruit. What Dwight and I used to do at Mother's request was sometimes take the horse and buggy and fill it up with tomatoes and beans and peas and sweet corn and eggs, and go up north of the tracks and sell it to the people who didn't have any gardens of their own. More frequently, however, we filled up a little red wagon with vegetables and hauled them, on foot, right up to the doors of our customers. To me, this was distressing. They would go over the vegetables we had to offer and select the nice ones—and pay us a meager price for them. Some would cast aspersions upon our produce. In a boylike way, I resented that. I developed then a feeling that the railroad tracks separated the classes in Abilene—that those who lived north of the tracks thought they were just a little better than we who lived south of the tracks. Being a little older than Dwight, I was probably more sensitive about this. I talked to him about it years later. He said that he never had any such feeling."

All the other brothers disagree completely with Edgar about a division in the town of Abilene when they were young. They insist no such division existed. Laughingly, they contend that Edgar had an inferiority complex and still doesn't realize it.

How Dwight Watched Babies

In connection with the doing of the family chores, Earl told me a story about his older brother Dwight, which, he said, he got from his mother. Each one of the older boys, he said, had to take care of the baby that was younger.

"It was Dwight's job to take care of me as a baby," said Earl, "because he was eight years older than I. He was big enough to put me to sleep in the afternoon and dress me, and so on. But evidently he despised the job. So he would take me out in the yard and put me in the baby buggy and then he would lie down in the grass and grab one axle with his hands and give it a toss over him. It would slide over him and he'd catch the other axle with his toes and swing it back and forth that way. That way he could rock me to sleep. In this way, he could be reading while he rocked me."

Aside from their chores about the house and tiny subsistence farm, the boys took odd jobs with the neighbors to bring in revenue. Chris Musser told me that all the boys worked at some time or another during their summer vacations in the Belle Springs Creamery. Edgar told me that one of the first jobs he obtained outside the home was helping a neighbor named Brown, who was county sheriff, in making apple butter and apple jelly. The sheriff had an apple orchard a short distance from the Eisenhower home. Edgar and the sheriff picked the apples in the orchard and made apple butter in a twenty-gallon copper kettle, over a fire beneath the trees.

Work in the Creamery

The President also has vivid memories of working in the creamery and going with his brother Edgar to sell vegetables. His own working week, in 1911, the year before he entered West Point, was eighty-four hours. A good many men of his generation, brought up in homes where their fathers worked long hours for low pay, he recalls, are familiar with what has been accomplished since then in raising pay and shortening hours of work.

It was while Dwight was working as a night engineer in the creamery that he brought home a pet dog named Flip, who was a valued member of the household for a long time, according to his brother Earl.

"We always had a dog around the house," Earl told me.

• • •

The purchase of toys or candy was a rare event in the Eisenhower home when the brothers were growing up. Yet the boys had their toys, and they had their candy, usually homemade. "Let's put it this way," Earl told me once. "If we wanted candy, Mother sometimes made it. When Dad paid his bills at the grocery store, the grocery man usually gave us candy. But the habit in families today, of fathers bringing candy home to their children and mothers bringing in a little toy was, as far as I know, never a practice with us.

"If we had toys we usually made them. Dad and our older brothers taught Milton and me how to make toys. We made our own sleds out of wood; then we would take tires off wooden buggy wheels, which were steel, and we would wrap them around the runners of the sled. So we had excellent sleds.

"I remember one toy I got, and I think it was the biggest moment of my life at the time. Dad bought Milton and me a bicycle in partnership. He bought it and brought it home, and we put it together. He must have got it from Sears Roebuck in Kansas City. We took turns riding it. Milton ran it into a tree and bent the front forks, but Dad fixed that. Otherwise, Dad taught us to make our own toys. We made slingshots and whistles. Whistles are easy to make. All you do is take a little piece of beech stick and hammer the bark until you can slip it off—or you cut it off—and you have a whistle that will change tones. You can really play them if you know how to do it."

There was no need in any boyhood home in rural Kansas during the years in which the brothers were growing up for many of the mechanical toys and amusement devices that now

. . . Edgar: "I don't think that we ever did anything that shocked Abilene, because we never got caught at it. But we used to go out with the rest of the youngsters on Halloween and engage in pranks"

are commonplace. The boys had guns and went hunting. Dwight, according to Earl, was the crack shot of the family, and frequently brought home quail, grouse, ducks and snipe. Earl told me Dwight taught him and his younger brother, Milton, to shoot, but exacted of them the chore of cleaning the game which he himself brought down, if they were to get their lessons.

Dwight, said Earl, also taught him once how to dive from a rafter, high up in their barn, head first toward the hay beneath, and then by turning a somersault in mid-air to land feet first. He tried to teach Milton, Earl said, and the first time Milton tried it he landed on his head and knocked himself out.

Edgar told of the flavor of boyhood fun in Abilene, when he spoke of Halloween customs.

"I don't think that we ever did anything that shocked Abilene, because we never got caught at it," he told me. "But we used to go out with the rest of the youngsters on Halloween and engage in pranks—like taking somebody's farm wagon apart and putting it together again on the top of his barn. Or we might move his outdoor plumbing to a new spot; or take down a man's fence. Those were things that everybody expected to be done at that time. We didn't think of such actions as a crime. But truly it was a legal trespass on the other fellow's property."

When Gunpowder Exploded

He remembered an injury he suffered playing with gunpowder. "It was on Thanksgiving Day, and Mother had invited a lot of the relatives to the house, so the place was filled with our families," he said. "At that time our guns were what we call 'muzzle-loading' guns—you put powder in at the top of the gun and tamped it down with some paper on it; then you put the shot in. Well, as a result of having these muzzle loaders, we had loose powder around the house. So my older brother, Arthur, borrowed a gallon can and put a double handful of powder in it. He stood out in the yard and tried to light it. It was a little windy. He scratched the match on the outside of the can and the wind blew it out before he could get it into the can. Well, I was hiding around the corner of the barn, watching him. Pretty soon he ran out of matches, and went to the house to get some more.

"Well, I saw his difficulty, but I wouldn't tell him. So I went up to the can and struck a match on the inside of the can, where the wind wouldn't get it. I let it drop on the powder—and puff! it hit me right in the face! Fortunately, my eyes were closed, so I didn't injure them, but gosh, my face was burned! I looked like a piece of charcoal! Mother took me to the house, and of course the guests were all aghast at the fact that one of the boys was all messed up. But Mother put some sweet oil on my face and then sprinkled me with flour. Then she made me lie down on a couch in the front room.

"I can still remember the brothers coming to the door, peeking around, taking one look at me—I must have looked like a ghost or a corpse. It took me probably two or three weeks before I got over that one."

It was Edgar who mentioned a prank which he and his brother Dwight played when they found a bottle of beer in the attic of a neighbor's barn. No such bottle would have been found, of course, in the home of their parents. According to Edgar, he and Dwight caught a hen and poured this beer down her throat to see what would happen. "From that time on," Edgar remembers, "that hen was the craziest thing that ever flew. She never walked. She always ran or flew. I can remember that one time she decided to raise a family, and mother set her on a nest near some other nests. Every now and then she'd get off that nest on the fly, circle the barn a couple of times, and come down on a different nest. I don't believe she ever raised any chickens."

Seldom an Illness

All the boys were so healthy that an occasional illness in the home stands out sharply in their memories. One of the most illuminating of the family legends concerns a time when Dwight had blood poisoning from an injured knee. For a time there was a question raised as to whether his leg should be amputated. At Dwight's request Edgar, with whom he frequently fought pitched battles, stayed by his bedside for two days to protect him against any such surgery. Edgar told me this story, as follows: "Let me give you a little bit of our boys' early thinking," he said, "We were pioneers. We lived in a town that was filled with stories of the old rough and tumble cowboy days.

"It was only recently that there had been a lot of shooting and a lot of fighting in Abilene, and the stories of that fighting were repeated to us time and time again. So we believed that in order for us to get along in life, we had to be physically fit. We had to be strong. For anybody to lose his leg meant that he was going to be a charge on somebody, that he wasn't going to be able to keep his position in the family ring, that he wasn't going to meet the problems ahead like he could if he were whole. And, as between the two, it would have been the same with me.

"So, it was quite natural for Dwight to turn to me. We were in high school at the time and we were very close. We were playing on the same teams together; we were attending the same classes together. When he hurt his knee and blood poisoning set in, he heard the doctor talking with Dad and Mother and saying there was only one thing to do and that was amputation. But as long as Dwight was in possession of his faculties, he kept saying, 'You are never going to cut that leg off.' As the poison progressed and the blackness crept up his leg toward his abdomen, the doctor said, 'If it ever hits his stomach he will die.' He [Dwight] called me in because he realized he was going out of his head; he was getting a little bit fuzzy."

"How old was Ike at that time?" I asked.

"I would judge that we were around sixteen," continued Edgar. "Anyway, he called me in and he said, 'Look, Ed, they are talking about taking my leg off. I want you to see that they do not do it, because I would rather die than to lose my leg.' So, as things got worse with him, it was necessary for me to stand guard. I didn't know what the doctor was going to do. He was getting angry because I stayed by Dwight's bed and refused to let him operate. Dad and Mother, who distrusted surgery anyway, didn't know what to do. But, in view of my promise to Dwight, there wasn't anything I could

. . . "Edgar and Dwight were so tough in their middle teens at bare-knuckle combat that they became the champions of the South Side of Abilene against the North"

do but stay there. So I remained in Dwight's room for about two days and two nights, and I saw to it that they didn't do anything with him except give him such medicine as they thought might be helpful towards fighting the poison. At the end of two or three days, by golly, we noticed that the fever started down, and he began to open his eyes, and his mind cleared up, and he was all right. He recovered, fully.

"Well, now, of course, that gets to be quite an emotional story. As I say, it has been dressed up by some people who have written about it. I have been asked whether or not at that time—when we decided there was nothing more that medicine could do—we all got down on our knees and prayed. We always prayed. It was just as natural for us to pray, to call upon God for help as it was for us to get up and eat breakfast. It was a part of us. And to say that we, on any particular occasion, made any particular prayer, I can't say now. But I know that as far as I personally was concerned, there wasn't any question but what we prayed, each in our own way."

"It is a very moving story," I said. "If I see you right you have tears in your eyes."

"Could be," said Edgar.

The Frontier Code Required Fists

The frontier code which the brothers absorbed in their early school days included a willingness to settle any argument with their fists, and according to Arthur the second and third brothers, Edgar and Dwight, were so tough in their middle teens at bare-knuckle combat that they became champions of the South Side of Abilene against the North. One long fight to a draw which Dwight had with a North Side champion was remembered for years in their little town, the banker told me, as an example of sheer courage and endurance.

"It occurred when Dwight went to high school," said Arthur. "Every new school year, each side—the North and the South—selected its champion and the two had to fight it out with bare knuckles for supremacy. Edgar had fought the year before and won. Now, it was Dwight's turn.

"Dwight was not as big and robust as he became in later life. His chest did not start expanding and his muscles didn't toughen until after he entered West Point. He was slender in high school, and he was not too fast. His opponent was thick-set, heavy and long-armed. The North Side was sure of victory. Well, there was one thing Dwight did have. He had Father's heart. He had Father's stubbornness. He could take it just like Father, take it and never whimper.

"The battle started after school hours on a vacant lot. The spectators formed a ring around the pair. Dwight's opponent was superior in strength and speed. Soon, Dwight's face became a swollen and bleeding mass of flesh. His eyes and lips became all wounds. The blows kept raining on him. The boys were betting on how soon he would collapse. But he kept on, pushing against his foe, moving forward, landing some blows, too. Half an hour passed, an hour. Both gladiators began to weary. The marks of Dwight's blows began to show on his opponent's face. That face, too, became a bloodied mass. It was now a battle of attrition.

"As the fight continued, the spectators became rooted to their places, amazed at the brutal courage of the pair. But most of the admiration went for Dwight. He was supposed to have fallen long ago. The sun set and between puffed and closed eyelids and the darkness, they could hardly see each other. Still they continued to maul each other. Two hours passed. Dwight's opponent finally blurted out, 'Ike, I can't lick you.' Ike stammered back: 'And I cannot lick you.'

"So—it ended in a draw, and became the most historic fight ever held in Abilene." Arthur summed it up: "That was Father in Dwight. Beaten to a pulp. But never licked."

"How did your father and mother receive him that night?" I asked.

"Dwight came home and stumbled into his bed. Father never said a word. Mother tried to soothe his swollen face with warm towels. Edgar was infuriated. He wanted to know who did it. Dwight calmed him. 'It was a fair fight,' he mumbled. I think Father suppressed a grin."

Milton contends that even Arthur has exaggerated the story as, he says, have many writers. However, he admits that when he entered high school on the North Side the intersectional fight was no longer in vogue, and that the young people were still talking of the one in which Dwight engaged.

"We Fought for Sheer Joy"

Apparently Edgar and Dwight, the two closest playmates among the brothers, unwittingly trained to be South Side champions by fighting each other to settle every argument. Edgar the older, remembers it this way:

"When I look back on our youth," he says, "I don't remember that Dwight played with any other brother as much as he did with me; but the occasion for a fight could be the simplest kind of a little thing. For instance, we might be walking with one another and he would try to trip me. Well, I would immediately slug him and then a fight was on. There was no animosity in our fights. We fought for the sheer joy of slugging one another. We had to get rid of our energy, and I think that when a fight was over we probably thought more of one another than we did before it began. I can't remember an instance where I was really bitter about anything that Dwight did that caused me to give him a whipping. He might take something away from me that I didn't think he was entitled to; then another fight was on. He might say it was his turn at bat and I thought it was my turn, but when he got up to strike, by golly, I pushed him away. Then there was still another fight. We were approximately the same size: I am twenty-two months older than he is, but age didn't make any difference; as long as he thought he could whip me he tried. And, you know, it is a funny thing, talking about fights, I didn't see Dwight from the time I went to the University of Michigan—no, I take that back—I went to the University of Michigan in 1909, and Dwight went through Ann Arbor on his way to West Point about a year later. I saw him then, but from that time on I didn't see him for about fifteen years, when we had a family reunion.

"The first thing he said to me when he got off the train at night—I met him at the depot—he said: 'Fellow, I have been waiting for a long time to give you a whipping and this is it.' At that time he was able to do it because I had softened up. I had been practicing law for twelve years, sitting at a desk, and I couldn't handle him at that time. He was in good physical condition. So, we spent a week or more at home, and each time he reminded me that he was going to give me a whipping I started talking. I finally talked him out of it, and we

. . . Milton: "Edgar and the rest of us goaded Dad until he had to demonstrate his physical supremacy over Ike. He was still the stronger even though Ike was a great athlete. Father won the match"

separated before he ever gave me a whipping. Now, I don't think he could whip me today. I think I am as good physically as he is. But remember, all of that tussling in our younger days was just the friendliest sort of sport. There were no scars left on our souls from anything that ever developed when we were boys."

"Well, can you recall a fight when you licked him?"

"I licked him every fight we had," Edgar answered. "But our fights were not the kind that you read so much about between Dwight and Wes Merryfield, the North Side champion. Our fights were a short sharp tussle, and then they were over. We never fought to establish any particular principle. We simply fought instead of arguing. Mother and Dad never interfered. Dad wasn't an excitable individual. It didn't make any difference to him that a couple of boys fought. Dad and Mother knew that there wasn't anything acrimonious about our fighting. It was just another way that we had of getting rid of excess energy. We were healthy, strong, and active. We were out in the weather all the time, and we were independent. Each one of us, by golly, was an independent individual in his own right; we grew from boyhood that way, and any time anybody walked on us they heard from us. It didn't make any difference how big or how little he was, if he did something that infringed on our rights, he got a punch right then and there. Dad accepted that as a part of our training."

When I asked the President about his fights with Edgar he reminded me that when the two brothers were young, fighting in the Midwest was quite common. Nobody paid any attention to it. Fighting and wrestling were standard games. They were pitting their strength and skill against each other in a competitive spirit.

When I asked the President about his father's attitude toward his fighting, a faint smile appeared at the corners of his mouth, and he commented that his father never liked to see one of the sons licked by playmates. He preferred it the other way around.

"No Malice in the Fights"

According to Earl, he and Milton settled arguments in boyhood with their fists just as Edgar and Dwight did. "Dwight's and Ed's fights have been more publicized than Milton's and mine, but they probably didn't have any more than we did. Maybe they fought harder, because they were stronger and probably had more energy than Milton and I. There was no malice in the fights at all. It was just kid stuff. Maybe I took a cookie from Milton and Milton hit me; and, of course, I had to hit him back—couldn't stand for that. And I think the same was true with Edgar and Dwight. I have seen them fight until —boy!—black eyes and hair and everything else were flying. Then five minutes later they'd be out playing calmly as you please. And if an outsider tried to part them, they would both jump on him!

"My mother, like mothers everywhere, didn't like her sons to fight. We tried to obey Mother's wishes but it was impossible in those rough and tumble days. We knew that when we got home we would sometimes get a switching and hear Mother's philosophy on temper, a philosophy that deeply influenced every one of us.

"I can hear her saying, 'He who conquers his temper is greater than he who taketh the city.'"

Milton told two significant stories about the attitude of David and Ida Eisenhower toward their sons' fighting. "One time two of my brothers got into a lively fight in the house and a neighbor who was there tried to intervene," he said. "Mother, without even looking at the two sons, said to the neighbor, 'Let them alone. Let them solve their own problems and things will be better.' Five minutes later, the two brothers were playing joyfully together, the fight forgotten.

His other story concerned a wrestling match between Dwight and his father, fomented by the brothers when Dwight was home from West Point for a family reunion. "Father was a strong man, and he was quick in his physical responses," said Milton. "The wrestling match came about like this: Edgar had always been able to defeat Ike in a boxing match, wrestling match, or anything else they engaged in when they were in high school. So Ike made up his mind that the day would come when he would whip Edgar. When he came home from West Point, he was prepared to demonstrate that he could. But Edgar by this time was convinced that Ike could, too, so they didn't have the match. Thereupon, Edgar and the rest of us goaded Dad until he had to demonstrate his physical supremacy over Ike. He was still the stronger even though Ike was a great athlete. Father won the match."

The brothers' memories of their childhood fights have worked a certain skepticism in Dwight's son, John.

"Your uncles were quite a fighting bunch of individuals. Have you emulated them in that respect?" I asked the major.

"I doubt that anybody could fight as much as they say they did," he answered with a broad grin. "The story has probably lost nothing in the telling."

° ° °

The religious training which David and Ida Eisenhower gave their sons was reinforced through their early years by a discipline in which the switch was not spared. "Father was quite a disciplinarian and we had to toe the mark," Arthur stated. "For instance, we never dared to stay out after nine o'clock at night. We all had to get up in the morning when called. There was no staying in bed. Father meted out punishment to us when he came home at night if he thought punishment was needed. Mother usually reported to Dad what we had done that called for his action."

"Mother Used the Switch"

From my talks with the other brothers it became clear that on occasion Mother Eisenhower also used the switch on her numerous progeny. "Mother, primarily, was the boss of the family, and that was because Dad went to work early in the morning and he came home late at night," said Edgar. "He worked twelve hours a day, and he worked six days a week and sometimes seven, so you can see that he wouldn't have the same opportunity of associating with us that mother had.

"Mother was the one who meted out punishment to us in most instances, but whenever the offense was such that she felt it should be taken up with Dad, she used to say to us, 'I will report this to your father when he comes home tonight.'

"Now, as a result of that Dad was held as a bugaboo. He was held up to us as the Tartar who was the man that was going to give us extra punishment, and did, but, I will say this, that when Dad came home, not having seen the particular incident that caused Mother to feel we should be punished, Dad would first be told what it was all about. If we deserved it—and we did—he went about whipping us in a very businesslike

. . . Arthur: "There are many traits that each of us boys have today that stem from the fact that our cash income when we were young was quite nominal. So we fell into the habit of watching our expenditures"

manner. He got himself a maple switch, and really tanned us. As we grew older and began to resist, Dad was more energetic in his application of the switch than he had been."

It was Earl who said that "spank" was the wrong word to use in describing his father's use of corporal punishment. "Spank to me brings up a picture of a man turning a boy over his knee and using his hand," said Earl. "But when Dad decided to punish us, he wasn't going to punish himself. I have thought about this off and on for years. I believe that every time I got a spanking I deserved it. And I don't believe that Milton or Arthur or any of the others ever got a spanking unless they deserved it. I am sure that neither Dad nor Mother spanked or punished us to get rid of their own anger. Too many fathers today do that: merely to get rid of their own anger they punish children. I don't believe any of the brothers can honestly say that they were punished when they didn't deserve it. I'll speak for myself: I certainly deserved whatever punishment I got."

Ultimate Authority: Father

"I suppose that every social unit has to have an ultimate authority, and in that sense, Father *was* the ultimate authority," said Milton. "However, I remember from my own youth at home that there never was disagreement between Father and Mother. I never heard a cross word pass between them. Therefore, I rather think the more accurate thing to say is that whatever discipline there was, what rules and regulations we had to abide by, came from a consensus of the two. But, I will agree with Arthur that an ultimate authority was needed. Father was that authority.

"Now, both Father and Mother applied punishment when it was deserved, and at times it was. However, there was a minimum of supervision, there was a minimum of rules and regulations. Let me put it this way—if we did our chores regularly, as we were expected to do, then all of the remainder of the time—and that was substantial—belonged to us; we could do anything under the sun we wanted to so long as it didn't violate the ordinary rules of decency. Oh, yes, we got punished from time to time. But, I repeat; we deserved it because we were then violating some of the cardinal rules that were enforced by both Father and Mother."

"What was your father like when he was angry?" I asked Earl.

"I never saw him show any signs of anger—like shaking his fist—or banging on a table, or anything like that," Earl answered. "I never saw anything like that in my life. Father was always quiet, even when he was angry. I remember once when the town council closed a road that he thought they shouldn't have closed. Dad said very quietly, 'Well, let's go over the list and see who voted for it,' and one of the men who voted for it was a storekeeper. So Dad told us we never would go into that store again, and we never did."

Earl also told of the way his parents handled him when he was six or seven years old, and informed them he was going to leave home and work for himself. His Dad, he said, just told him of the best roads to take to nearby towns, and the best kind of weather in which to travel. He also told the boy what town he thought there might be work in. His mother, he said, told him that when he got ready to go he certainly would want to carry a big box of lunch, and she volunteered to make him some sandwiches. He informed his parents, Earl said, that he wouldn't need any of their sandwiches; he could get along on his own from that time on. He walked about a mile to a nearby farmhouse and then thought better of his adventure. He had a hard time getting home by suppertime, but he made it. His older brothers, he said, were kind enough on that occasion not to kid him, because they had been through similar adventures at about his age, and knew he was all worn out.

At other times, he said, parental discipline for Milton and him as the youngest children was supplemented by discipline from Dwight and Edgar. This was particularly true on one occasion, when he and his younger brother decided to experiment with smoking corn-silk cigarettes behind the barn. Edgar and Dwight found them. The older boys did not inform their parents. They just took away the corn-silk cigarettes and spanked their brothers.

Aside from the religious teaching of their parents, and the strict family discipline, the Eisenhower brothers received from the very outset of their conscious careers a stern instruction in the need for hard work and thrift. This instruction, they say today, did not come so much from parental lectures or admonitions as from the very palpable lack of money in the home that made strict economy a rule of everyone's life. Throughout all their later years a dislike for waste and a sense of thrift have been characteristic of all the brothers.

"I don't recall that Dad ever lectured us on thrift or economy, or criticized us for the money we spent, because what money we had to spend we had earned ourselves," says Arthur. "Now you don't do things merely because you read something that you're supposed to do or your parents tell you what to do or not to do. Your manner of living is largely determined by such circumstances as the cash income of your family. There are many traits that each of us boys have today that stem from the fact that our cash income when we were young was quite nominal. So we fell into the habit of watching our expenditures."

Necessity for Thrift

Uncle Chris Musser related two stories to illustrate how President Eisenhower's boyhood exposure to necessary thrift affected his thinking in later life. "Once when Dwight was visiting here in Abilene, as a general," Mr. Musser told me, "he said, 'Uncle Chris, I'm sick of all these banquets. We're wasting food while a lot of people all over the world are starving.' Later I was with him at a banquet in Chicago. The waitress served the general a huge steak and he was puzzled by its size. He cut the steak in half and sent one half of it back to the kitchen."

"I think that being poor is a great heritage," said Edgar, "provided you don't sour about it, and thank God none of us were bitter about the fact that we were poor. It wasn't until we grew up and got to looking back at our boyhood that we realized just exactly how poor we were financially, but we were rich in one of the things that's greatest in life—and that was pure, unadulterated affection and consideration for one another."

"In this day and age, allowances are paid children for raking the lawn, cleaning the garage, and all the chores children

. . . Earl: "As one of the two younger brothers, I was heir to all the clothes discarded by Arthur, Edgar, Dwight and Roy"

do," said Earl. "It wasn't so in our family. We never were paid a penny for our work, nor did we think we had to be rewarded with money for helping the family. Every once in a while though, I confess that I wished that the budget had been just a little more elastic. One day my mother said to me, 'Earl, you're going to need some new shoes.' Hot dog! I thought to myself,—new shoes.

"'I think a pair of Dwight's will fit you all right,' she added. I rebelled. As one of the two younger brothers, I was heir to all the clothes discarded by Arthur, Edgar, Dwight and Roy. Milton, the youngest, was the lowest limb on the clothes tree. I didn't mind normally, but this time I wanted new shoes. 'I'd rather go barefooted than wear Dwight's, Mother,' I said.

"She said that she thought it was a mistake, but if that was my decision, she would abide by it. October in Abilene, Kansas, is pretty chilly. And while the boys often went barefooted to school in the summer, a barefoot boy in October was somewhat of an oddity. I tried it—for one day. The next day I quit being a barefoot boy and was snug and comfortable in my big brother's outgrown brogans."

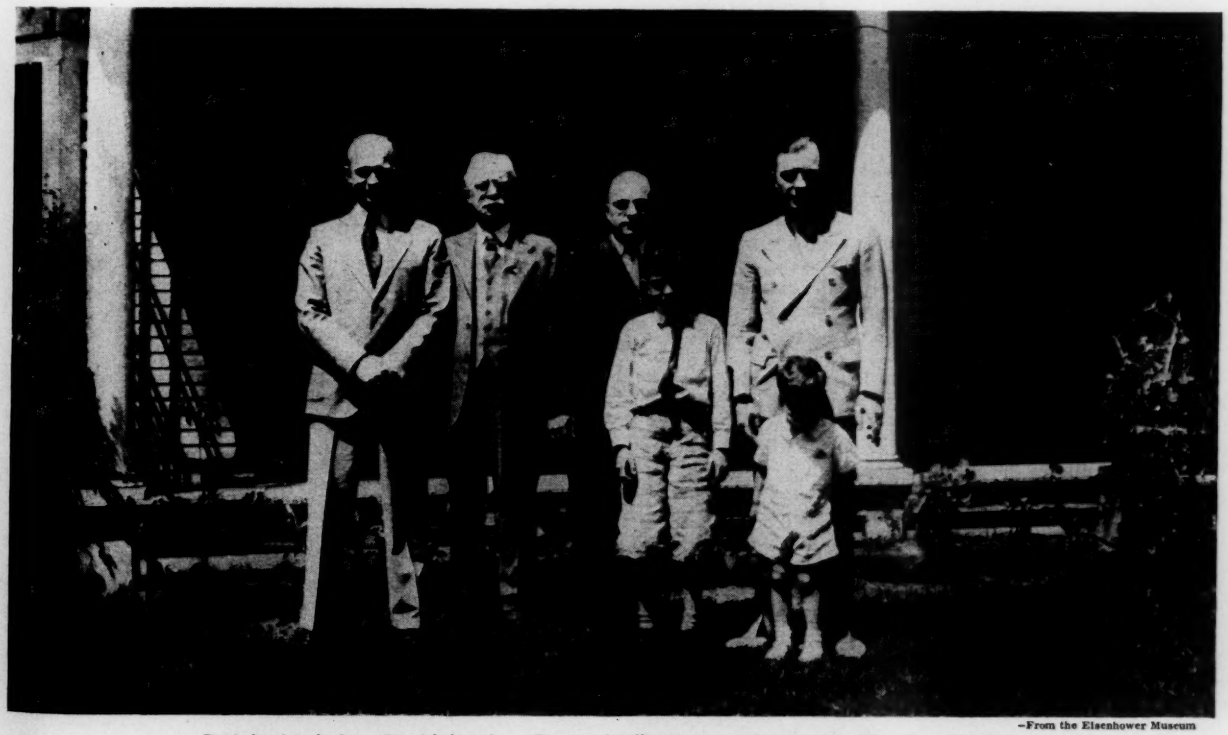
Once when Edgar, Dwight and Roy were digging a cistern, Earl said, Dwight swung his pick and it went off on a tangent and pierced Ed's shoe, cutting his foot severely.

"Darn it, Dwight," Ed exclaimed, "you've ruined my twenty-five cent socks!" He ignored the injury to his foot, but was most concerned about his new socks—very expensive ones at twenty-five cents in the year 1906.

Chapter 4

ARTHUR, THE BANKER

OLDEST OF all the children of David and Ida Eisenhower, and the first of the brothers to attain material success is Arthur Eisenhower, director and executive vice-president of the Commerce Trust Company of Kansas City. This is one of the largest banks west of the Mississippi. Arthur Eisenhower started working for the bank as a messenger boy in 1905, and became executive vice-president in 1934. Christened Arthur B., the banker has never used his mid-



—From the Eisenhower Museum

Dwight, his father, David, brothers Roy and Milton pose in front of the Eisenhower home in 1934. In front of Roy is his son, Lloyd Edgar, and in front of Milton is Milton S., Jr.

. . . "Arthur proved by thrift and solid labor that with ambition and industry a poor boy from the Kansas plains could start at the lowest level and eventually reach the top. He did just that"

dle name, and a few years ago dropped the use of his middle initial.

Sixty-seven years of age, as this is written, Arthur is a big man, and robust in health. Never, he says with understandable pride, in his fifty years of work for the bank has he missed a day because of sickness, and only once in his life has he visited a doctor in search of care. That was a few years ago, he says, when he had a bad case of poison ivy. He tried to get rid of it, failed, and went to a doctor for an injection which cured him.

"I never had enough money for doctors, when I was young," says Arthur. "In my early days here I only made twenty-five dollars a month, which was just enough for room and board. I've avoided debt as much as I could, all through my life. I just pulled through my illnesses, and they usually cured themselves. Rest and proper food are the best aids to health."

Arthur is so brimming with energy and well-being that one gets the impression he would feel it a personal defeat to be forced to see a doctor. The banker, though a plodder, is not a man to be easily defeated. He is the baldest of all the brothers. His head is large and egg-shaped. His nose is prominent. He is corpulent, and apt to blush when reminded of it. He blushes easily. He has a double chin and doesn't really mind it. Once, in a letter to his brother Edgar, he pointed out in jest that he had only one double chin in the picture and thanked heaven for that.

Arthur's lips are heavy. He wears glasses when reading, and as he reads his lips are silently reciting the words he reads. His voice is soft. His smile is faint while he is in the bank. You have to see Arthur both inside and outside of the bank to get to know him. Inside the bank he is austere, cool, absolutely business-like, and rather formidable. A man of great reserve, and perhaps even a bit stiff, one would say, seeing Arthur in his office. Outside, his laughter begins to boom like the laughter of his brothers. He has a quick appreciation of a joke and can tell one. He is renowned in the most skilled bridge-playing circles of Kansas City as a magnificent bridge player, quite as much as he is renowned in financial circles for his shrewd business acumen. His brother Edgar says Arthur is known to be one of the greatest experts on grain in the country, and his fame in this respect reaches into the banks of Chicago and New York.

* * *

The banker is the only one of the Eisenhower brothers to leave home during his teens, after two years of high school, in order to go to work. Probably he was more aware of comparative poverty in boyhood than were his younger brothers. He was born during the ill-fated storekeeping period of his father's life, and today admits that probably he was more conscious of the need for money during boyhood than were his brothers.

Role of "Pioneer" for Arthur

People looking at a photograph of the Eisenhower brothers would almost certainly point to Arthur and say, "That must be the banker. He looks like a financier."

Yet, aside from looking prosperous—as he always does—Arthur has another and far more significant distinction. He was the trail blazer in the family of boys. He was the real pioneer of the five. The inspiration he exerted on his younger brothers by breaking away from the Belle Springs Creamery in Abilene to seek a job elsewhere, "any job," cannot be minimized. He pointed the way upward to the brothers who later followed.

* * *

It is only an assumption, yet not entirely without reason, that a failure by Arthur in Kansas City would have had serious repercussions on the enterprising spirits of his younger brothers. But he did not fail. He made good, and thus the pattern for Edgar and Dwight was set. Arthur proved by thrift and solid labor that with ambition and industry a poor boy from the Kansas plains could start at the lowest level and eventually reach the top. He did just that. He applied for a messenger job at the Commerce Trust Company—for "one must start somewhere," Arthur explained to me—and climbed tenaciously up the ladder to his present position.

Messenger boys, at the turn of the century, lacked the transportation conveniences of our modern time. Arthur's first job paid five dollars a week. Was the eighteen-year-old youngster from Abilene satisfied when he got that five-dollar-a-week job? He says today he believes the job was the best he could have hoped for at the time. When he left Abilene, the family was struggling hard to meet the everyday necessities of life. The salary of Arthur's father, David, was sufficient to feed and clothe six healthy, exuberant youngsters, but there could be no luxuries on that income alone. The brothers learned early to supplement the family income. They helped provide for their own needs. By the economic standard of the Eisenhower family in 1905, getting a job as messenger boy in a large city bank was actually rated as a good break. Once when I asked Arthur whether his father liked fancy clothes he retorted with a puzzled smile, "There were no fancy clothes in the Eisenhower family. I wore Dad's suits and my brothers wore mine and so *the suit* wandered down the ladder in the order of age until it reached Milton."

Inaccurate Legends in Recent Years

In addition, Arthur pointed out that a lot of exaggerated and untrue stories had in recent years been written about the family.

"None of us has taken the trouble to straighten out these good-natured but inaccurate legends," Arthur remarked. "However, the often told story about our early frugality is absolutely true. From my present position as a banker I can grasp our early economic situation better than I could while I was a youngster. Indeed, were it not for the three-acre garden patch behind the house, where we raised vegetables, chickens and pigs, we might have faced real want at times. Of course, one must take into consideration that fifty-sixty years ago the living standard of a working man was far below the present level. Nobody earned the kind of real wages that present industrial workers make."

It was suggested that his bold trip to seek a job in Kansas City was probably a decisive factor in the ensuing Eisenhower successes. Arthur rejected the idea.

The fact that Arthur was the first of the Eisenhower brothers to win material success in life was pointed up sharply by old newspaper clippings found in the family files. The clippings contained news items in which the relatively unknown brothers, Dwight, Earl and Milton, were referred

. . . Arthur: "Dwight was the calmest fellow in the room at the time of the nomination"

to as "brothers of Arthur B. Eisenhower, a bank executive in Kansas City."

If the most outstanding trait in a banker is thrift, then Arthur is a model banker. At a luncheon in Kansas City's University Club, Arthur refused to order a two-dollar lunch. His mind revolves around financial problems and banking matters. It is no exaggeration to say that Arthur's entire life centers around the very premises of the Commerce Trust Company on Tenth and Walnut Streets. There is no place in the world he cherishes more than his desk at the bank. After that he loves his bridge table.

Arthur, the banker, is given to quick anger, just as quickly ended. He reacts to minor irritations instantly. Yet this quick-tempered man has spent many years in the bank listening to the distress of his fellow men. Arthur's main activity is to decide on loan applications. I found it rather remarkable that constant dealings with highly charged and tense clients has not increased Arthur's temper. On the contrary it has mellowed him. He finds the rigid loan rules of the bank, these days, not elastic enough for human needs, yet the conservative Arthur, who has grown with the bank, would never sidestep them. I am sure that the godly and humanitarian spirit of his parents weighs heavily on him when acting on loan applications but the decision, in most cases, depends on the collateral.

"Once I argued with members of the board," Arthur recalls, "that the honesty of the applicant is as good a guarantee for the loan as the material collateral. I was adamant in one case and the loan was granted. Of course, it was subsequently repaid."

However, Arthur believes, such a case is exceptional. No bank, responsible for the assets of others, should base its judgment on instinct or humanitarian considerations alone.

° ° °

Arthur once said to his brother Milton, "I was past forty years of age before I fully realized how valuable it would have been to me if I had had a broad college education when I was younger."

Big Job in Arthur's Career

In the banking business, Arthur said, brevity of language is valuable. He said he knew how to be brief. I asked him what he believed to be the most outstanding feat of his entire banking career, and it was not his achievement of a reputation for knowing values in the grain market.

"I think I've had a good many," he said, with just a touch of pride. "But I'll mention only one. In 1935, a company in this trade area had its notes called by all the banks that were doing business with it, and the officers of that company were also indebted to banks on their stock. The problem was presented to me, and I spent three days living in their plant, which is not located in Kansas City. I came back here, and after assembling my figures, I recommended to our discount committee that we establish a lien of fifty thousand dollars. Today our lien to that company is a million and a half. But I couldn't sell any of my associates on it. So one evening Mr. McLucas [Walter S. McLucas, a former president of the bank] had a few of the officers out to his farm for dinner.

"We were sitting out on the patio—absolutely dark—you couldn't see the face of anyone else—and I talked for fifteen minutes straight, they tell me, about the desirability of our bank as a creditor doing a constructive job. There was not an answer when I got through. The next morning one of my associates came to me and said, 'You believe in that credit?' I said, 'I certainly do.' He said, 'I've decided to go along with you.' So the two of us recommended the credit to the discount committee and it was approved. But I had to do an awful lot of talking. The thing I remember most is talking that evening for fifteen minutes without stopping—and you couldn't see an expression on any face. You couldn't see anything, it was so dark.

"I'm a director in that company today. In those days they did a volume of around three million dollars. Today, they do forty-five million. I know that when we established the credit there, and expressed confidence in the future of that company, all the other banks renewed their lines of credit. So I think that was—the one I remember most."

A few other questions and answers from the interviews will tell much about Arthur.

Q. Does religion play an important part in your life?

A. I think I'm probably the only brother who doesn't formally belong to a church. That doesn't mean that I haven't got my mother's religion in my soul.

Q. As the eldest boy did you enjoy the prerogative, usually accorded to the senior member of the family, of having your younger brothers mind you?

A. Only during the time when I was strong enough to put all my brothers in a pile and hold them there. After that I had no influence whatever.

Q. Did your brother, the President, notify you of his election?

A. I was with him at the nomination and the election, as well as the inauguration.

Q. Could you recall some episode on how he reacted?

A. Dwight was the calmest fellow in the room at the time of the nomination. I didn't see him particularly changed when the outcome of the election was announced.

° ° °

Talking about his brother, the President, Arthur said, "Dwight had a quick temper when he was a youngster. He was a born fighter—a scrapper. But Dwight is fair, and has a lot of tolerance for individuals. In the early part of his military career he was quite a disciplinarian. Once, for some infraction of the rules, he made a soldier dig a hole six feet long, two feet wide, six feet deep. When the man reported to him that the job was done, Dwight ordered him to refill it."

° ° °

No Time for Piano Playing

Arthur is a man of cool intellect, and it would be difficult to imagine him in tears or overcome by emotion. In his youth he played the piano. His mother, he remembers, wanted her boys to learn to play. "Today," he says ruefully, "I have two pianos but I never have time to play." Those two pianos are in his palatial home in the country club section of Kansas City. Like his other brothers he has spent some time at golf but has given it up almost entirely in recent years. In 1926, he married Mrs. Louise Alexander, the former Louise Sondra Grieb. Mrs. Eisenhower is a woman of talent, a fashion and art designer, and an interior decorator. She had one daughter, Catherine, by a former marriage. Arthur adopted the daughter. Catherine is married to

. . . "Edgar is popular and is respected. He has that undefinable quality sometimes called 'personal magnetism,' that attracts people to him wherever he goes"

Berton Roueché, a writer for *The New Yorker* magazine. They have one child, Arthur Bradford.

Arthur's is a busy life, but he finds time like all the other brothers to keep up the inter-brother correspondence. Indeed, in a recent letter from Edgar to Dwight, the Tacoma lawyer comments happily that "Arthur is becoming a little more family conscious." For many years the brothers, when writing each other, have sent carbon copies to such of the brothers as might be interested in any topic being discussed.

° ° °

While Arthur has been with Dwight during several of the President's moments of great personal triumph, neither he nor Earl was present at the dedication of the Eisenhower Museum in Abilene. At that time neither one of them had reconciled themselves completely to the idea that their boyhood home should be a national shrine. Arthur, as much as any of the brothers today, likes the infrequent brotherly reunions, which can no longer be arranged with the same informality or seclusion as they used to be before overwhelming fame struck the family. Casting a sidelong glance at a fishing trip picture in his office in which the five brothers enjoyed themselves without interference from Secret Service men or newspaper reporters, Arthur said wistfully, "It will never be the same again." There was very real sorrow in the banker's voice.

Chapter 5

EDGAR, THE LAWYER

THE MOST SENTIMENTAL of the Eisenhowers—and the most outspoken—is Edgar Newton Eisenhower, well-to-do corporation lawyer of Tacoma, Washington, who was recognized as a leading citizen of that community long before Dwight D. Eisenhower became a general in the United States Army. Edgar is less than two years older than the President, and he and Dwight were rivals in play as boys, and rivalry of a sort between them still goes on. In his adopted state Edgar is a golfer of amateur championship caliber, an enthusiastic outdoor man with a big booming laugh, prone to quick anger, intense enthusiasms, strong likes and equally violent antipathies.

Edgar is popular and is respected. He has that undefinable quality sometimes called "personal magnetism," that attracts people to him wherever he goes. Edgar also is a worker, and has been for many years; a man who is accustomed to labor long, arduous hours.

Edgar is the type of man who will pound on a table to drive home a point; who will occasionally emphasize an opinion with a well-rounded "Hell, yes!" or "Hell, no!" or with "Sure, sure, sure," leaving no doubt of his unhesitating conviction.

Edgar is the senior partner of the law firm Eisenhower, Hunter, Ramsdell and Duncan. He has practiced forty-one years in the same building he now occupies. From his office windows Edgar can see Mount Rainier, one of the tallest mountains in the United States. He often seems to be looking at it when he is making decisions. Other windows look out over Puget Sound, a body of water connected with the world's largest ocean, the Pacific. One gets the impression that something of the largeness of these two views, the mountain and the sea, has entered into the very fiber of Edgar's being—that he is a large man inwardly as well as outwardly.

° ° °

The walls of Edgar's office are adorned with family photographs. Some of them are snapshots of his parents or individual brothers, others are group photographs. Two of the groups were taken when Roy was still alive, and the "solid family ring," as Edgar described the family unit, was still unbroken. There is a picture of his charming wife, Lucy; his daughter, Janis, whom he nicknamed "Bubbins" and who is now Mrs. William O. Causin. There are pictures of Mrs. Causin's two children, William Edgar, seven, and Jean Nadine, five. There is a picture of Edgar and Dwight waving and smiling from a car during the President's visit to Seattle in 1953. It is mounted on a wooden plaque and was presented to Edgar by the F.B.I. in Tacoma. Still another reminder of the "kid brother" in the White House is the inaugural prayer which Edgar keeps framed on his bookshelf.

During one interview Edgar pointed to a newspaper picture of the President signing a new tax law. The law was contained in a tall stack of papers. The President was smiling. "Sure he smiles," chuckled Edgar, "but I hope he didn't have to read that whole stack."

Perhaps in his business discussions Edgar may resort to the guarded legal phraseology of a careful, judicial mind. But in personal conversation, whether on family matters or public affairs, his language is bold and frank. It is sprinkled with informal expressions.

At the age of sixty-six Edgar enjoys robust and vigorous health. He moves with amazing speed, and when he walks the streets his head turns from side to side. Edgar is a man who doesn't want to miss a thing.

Edgar never lunches in his office. Usually his mid-day meal is taken at the Tacoma Club. He never smokes. Anyone who carelessly drops ashes about his office annoys him.

The lawyer is more than liked in Tacoma. He is loved. He has grown with this city; has poured his vitality into it and has felt the city respond, recharging his own boundless energy. During a short walk from his office to the Tacoma Club he was interrupted by a steady stream of friends and acquaintances. Probably they saw Edgar frequently, but they greeted him with outstretched arms and occasionally with a bearhug, as though he had just returned from faraway places.

In the Puget Sound Bank Building's elevator, a delivery man in stained oil-spotted overalls shouted "Hi ya, Ed," and to seal the greeting pounded his back. The distinguished corporation lawyer, elder brother of the President of the United States, clenched his enormous fist and returned the greeting flatly on the fellow's chest. The man toppled and almost lost his balance. Spectators in the elevator agreed that Edgar's

. . . "Edgar is a man of moods. He is the only Eisenhower I saw choked with emotion and literally in tears"

blow would be considered a kayo by any referee. One look at Edgar's triumphant, glowing face would convince anyone that this pugilistic feat had pleased him as much as a successful legal battle in court.

Essentially Edgar is still the boy to whom fighting on the family lot used to be a daily routine. "I still can lick him anytime. Sure! Sure!" Edgar said with happy self-assurance, referring to Dwight. He is full of the spirit of adventure, full of jest and whims. He sees life as the finest exploration in the world, and tastes to the limit every incident that comes his way, whether it be the bitterest and most cruel of fights or the opportunity for doing someone a great kindness.

Edgar's head is sparsely covered with sandy hair—just like Dwight's. His skin is reddish, his eyes twinkling and light blue. He looks straight at you with a friendly, sympathetic expression, as if he were trying to guide and encourage you to reach a common ground. He listens attentively, more like an old country doctor than an attorney. "Sure, sure!" he would interrupt the conversation in a voice vibrant with conviction and reassurance.

Edgar's Many Moods

Like all of the brothers, Edgar is a man of moods; indeed, of many moods. He is impulsive to the point of touchiness. He is quick-tempered. He is stubborn. If someone attempts to go against his principles, or takes opposition to his views, a battle royal will begin. He lashes out with the passion of a gladiator ready to fight to the finish. The thing he really seems to love most—aside from golf—is a good debate. No man is more difficult to shout down and no man responds more gratefully to opposition of the fiercest kind. Impulsive and swift of thought, Edgar doesn't mind interrupting people who are talking, if he has a point to make. Mrs. Edna Eisenhower, his brother Roy's widow, told a story to illustrate this. "We were all together in Abilene one day," she said, "for a family reunion. After lunch we went to the sitting room of the hotel, and decided that each of the brothers should have ten minutes to talk about what he was doing—and about his own life or his views. It was decided that if anybody should interrupt the brother who was talking he would be docked one minute of his time. Edgar was always butting in, and by the time he got up to talk he had very little time coming to him."

• • •

Edgar takes great pride in his flower garden, a full acre filled with blooming plants of many kinds. According to Mrs. Eisenhower there are at least 1,500 varieties at latest count, some of them imported by Edgar from foreign lands. Edgar thinks enough of this garden to take any interested visitor on an inch-by-inch tour. Aside from growing flowers, Edgar has a taste for going fishing, climbing mountains, hunting wild game, playing billiards and riding horseback.

In his law practice he has not appeared in a courtroom for the last fifteen years. He is director of the St. Regis Paper Company, director of a bank, and is legal counsel to a good many business concerns, engaged in such activities as building house trailers, cutting timber, making furniture, selling automobiles, hardware and stationery.

It has been said whenever a client brings him a really tough problem, his first reaction is to leave his office and play a round of golf. He did not start to play golf until he was thirty-five years old, and then he and a friend decided it would be a good idea to do some golfing during the middle of each week, when almost everyone else would be working.

Edgar's energy is prodigious. Once we ended a tape recorded interview at ten o'clock in the evening. The office was deserted. His associates and office force had left at 5:30 but Edgar wasn't ready to stop working. At sixty-six, after a very busy day, he stuffed a pile of legal documents into his briefcase. He was preparing a writ for the Supreme Court.

"This case is a complicated one" he brooded. "It's not so much on my mind as on my conscience. A lot of working people would be unjustly hurt, by golly, if we lost this case, and that mustn't happen. I'll work on it before I retire."

The same dedicated spirit to good causes and to the welfare of others marks the personality of Edgar's charming and vibrant wife, Lucy. She too is full of energy, and her vigor is matched by intellectual alertness. It was quite natural for her to work hard for the "Citizens for Eisenhower" committee, a group of Democrats and independent voters in Tacoma who helped put the President in the White House.

Edgar is a man of moods. He is the only Eisenhower I saw choked with emotion and literally in tears. He is also the one who became so enraged about something that the fury with which he grabbed the phone startled me.

Personal Views of Edgar

Only occasionally did the lawyer talk of himself to explain his own nature. Several of these questions and answers enable one to see Edgar Eisenhower as he sees himself. The selection, as in the case of Arthur, is made to illustrate some characteristics of the man.

Q. Does outside trouble, such as the world crisis, war and depressions, influence your thinking? Are you the worried type?

A. No. . . . I'm not. I don't worry except about my client's problems. They can keep me awake at night and they can get me up early in the morning. I can work and concentrate on that, and I can worry about their problems. I don't worry about my own financial problems and my own personal life problems. Now, as far as world problems are concerned, I don't know that it's quite correct to say that I do or do not worry about these. I am concerned about world problems, of course.

Q. Are you an easy sleeper?

A. Oh, I go to sleep the minute I hit the bed.

Q. Do you dream?

A. Oh, yes, sure. But I don't know what the answer to dreams is.

Q. In legal argument, do you prefer to speak or to write?

A. In my law work? Just the other day, I said to my partner who is now working with me on a difficult case, "Jim, I think you express yourself better on paper than I do, and I think I express myself better orally than you, or better orally than I do in writing, because so much of my emphasis is not in the words I use but in the manner in which I use them." I know that is so. That's why I don't think I am a good man to write a brief for the Supreme Court. I know my shortcomings just as well as the other fellow does. A lot of emotion goes into my thinking, especially when I've got a matter that is very important to somebody else. I live that case more than the client does. I take the

. . . "Edgar has publicly criticized such measures of the present administration as have not been to his liking"

responsibility, and when he loads it onto me he sheds himself of responsibility: therefore, I've got to produce. And for that reason I get myself worked up. My hands, you may notice, begin to peel, which is the result of long nervous tension.

Now, when I get over this present case and free of strain, I'll be normal again.

What I like to do, when I am dictating a complicated agreement or instrument, is to walk around. The reason I want to walk around is because the physical motion has a tendency to quiet my mind so that I can talk as I think. If I sit down to talk and to dictate something, I am apt to have my thoughts run ahead of my talking. It's hard for me to slow up, especially when I get all teed up to something. That's why the physical motions that I go through are sort of a release or a quieting—they have a quieting effect on me.

Q. Is that characteristic of people in the West?

A. Well, I suppose I'm a little bit Western in some of my language. I've been here in a free country where there is a lot of space and I have developed certain characteristics which are common in this region.

* * *

I'm absolutely open and frank and probably shallow as all get out, but I've had a lot of fun in life and I've made a lot of friends. I've done all right as far as material things are concerned. I've had a full life.

Q. How many hours are you working—average?

A. Well, my average day of work is from about seven in the morning until about ten-thirty at night. In the morning I always have something at home that I have got to do—I mean office work. I take my work with me. This morning, although I was out late last night, I was up at seven and I read a brief we are preparing for the Supreme Court. Tonight I'll take it home with me again and I'll work 'til ten-thirty or eleven.

* * *

Q. You told me, Ed, that you refused to fill out an inquiry from *Who's Who in America*.

A. Yes. If *Who's Who* obtains information by its own impartial investigation, I have no objection.

Edgar is a bold, courageous and uncompromising man, as I see him. He would be a nightmare to diplomats, but a bulwark for human injustice. He is considered a violent anti-Roosevelt, anti-New Deal, anti-Fair Deal, anti-Democrat, anti-Dixiecrat, and anti-everything which prevailed in the past twenty years of Democratic party administration. Nevertheless, he is the only Eisenhower who has publicly criticized such measures of the present administration as have not been to his liking.

It is true that Arthur, in the summer of 1954, blasted Senator Joseph McCarthy in unusually sharp language, but when the brothers are confronted with political controversy they usually resort to "no comment," in deference to the President of the United States. Edgar is an exception. He impressed me as being sometimes a "loyal opposition" of the Eisenhower administration. . . . Edgar was amused that the conservative and rather shy Arthur should engage in a vitriolic political blast against anybody.

"One never knows what an Eisenhower will do next," he chuckled. This statement is a pretty accurate summation of Edgar's own personality but applies only slightly to the rest of the brothers.

Arthur's entire life has been carefully mapped and planned. He works by the bank calendar and by the minutes of the board. From his early youth, Dwight was trained to do things by the rigid, orderly formulas of the military. Earl's movements and actions have been influenced by the cold figures of engineering, and little time was left for abstract thinking. Milton is the very personification of the scholar. His statements and views are formulated only after extensive study and contemplation. It is not likely that Milton will ever make an unexpected decision. It is quite obvious that by referring to the unpredictable nature of the Eisenhowers, Edgar was merely flexing his own muscles in adventurous anticipation of a challenge—any challenge—without which his life probably would be meaningless.

Chapter 6

DWIGHT, THE SOLDIER AND PRESIDENT

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS which seem to be common to all Americans is the deep reverence in which they hold the office of President. Another is the consuming curiosity they have about the man who holds that office and lives in the White House.

But it was not in the spirit of curiosity alone that I found myself on a cold December morning seated in a chair in that oval room of the White House which is the Chief Executive's office. I was permitted to sit there for thirty minutes, facing Dwight D. Eisenhower, the third of five living brothers in an American family.

Thus it was that after many difficulties, and after the intercessions of the Eisenhower brothers, I arrived at the White House for a visit with the President on a family matter. Generally the President does not grant interviews. Usually, his contact with the press is by means of weekly press conferences. I carried no pencil. I took no notes. Seated beside me was Murray Snyder, an assistant press secretary to the President. He agreed with me a few hours later that what I wrote down swiftly in memory was, in general, accurate.

Originally my interview had been scheduled for 2:30 P.M., when a good bit of the President's daily work would be behind him. Late on the previous afternoon James C. Hagerty, the President's press secretary, informed me it would be at 9:30 A.M., a far more sensitive spot in the day's routine, when affairs of national and international importance would be awaiting presidential attention.

There is an air of peace in that lovely room where the President sits, with its green tinted walls and windows looking out beyond a placid lawn to the Washington Monument. The atmosphere was one of quiet. The President could work alone if he wished, or see only those who were important

. . . "His father, the President said, was a firm man who expected firmness to be a trait of his sons; a man who never wanted to see his sons beaten by their playmates in any fight"

to him personally or to his nation's business. I had a slight sense of guilt as I first sat down—to think that my own project to be successful must use a few minutes of this man's time.

Interview With the President

The President sat in front of two flags which flanked the window directly behind him, the American flag and the blue and white emblem of the nation's Chief Executive. On a small desk between them were photographs of his wife; his mother, who died in 1946; his son; his daughter-in-law; and the President's three grandchildren. Three bookshelves were set into the wall to the right. The few books placed on them are uniformly bound in sets. These sets contain the works of earlier presidents.

Across the desk was an Eisenhower who had no such heart-warming smile as that which the President bestows upon those crowds which turn out everywhere he goes to roar their enthusiastic welcome to him. He was a gentleman of cool reserve, properly courteous, with the self-control of the trained West Point graduate.

There was a slightly quizzical glint in his eye, as if he might even be wondering why I should even be there at all. Sensing this, I tried to justify my mission instantly.

"Believe me, Mr. President," I burst out, "my intention in seeking this appointment was for something far different than merely an interview with you. I didn't come here to glamorize you. You don't need glamor. As you know, I am writing about your parents, and your brothers and about you, to see if I can't arouse a deeper awareness among the people of this nation's fine heritage."

I continued talking in deadly earnest, reinforcing my points as Europeans do, with sweeping gestures across the desk. I found myself pointing my finger at the President, and then was much embarrassed to find his eyes following my hands with amazement. Just a hint of the famous Eisenhower grin arrived on his face. The President motioned benignly, and suggested that I should ask questions.

The first few of them had to do with the kind of discipline he and his brothers experienced in the home when boys; with the widely known pacifism of his parents; and with his decision to go to West Point and his parents' reaction.

The President told me it was true that his father was a firm disciplinarian, but did not interfere with his son's choice of profession. He said he doubted if his father was a pacifist. He knew his mother was opposed to militarism because of her religious beliefs. His father, he said, was a firm man who expected firmness to be a trait of his sons; a man who never wanted to see his sons beaten by their playmates in any fight; a man who much preferred his sons to be the winners.

He told me he believed his brother Edgar was mistaken in feeling that he went to West Point primarily to get an education at no financial expense. With twinkling eyes, he remembered earning more money than his brother, Edgar, in their boyhood. He maintained he always was able to earn whatever money he needed for an education.

His father, the President said, showed no emotion whatever when he was told his son had received a West Point appointment, even though he had hoped that one of his sons would be a doctor. No son up to that point had evinced any interest in the medical profession. Probably, he said, his father was a little proud of the fact that one of his boys had received the appointment, but he could not be sure of that because of the father's reserve.

Of one thing the President was sure. His father's fine character and good name in their small community were a help to him in getting the appointment. He conceded that he and his brothers were governed fairly strictly by their parents in some respects. He also remembered that his boyhood home had music in it. His mother played the piano and his father sometimes sang. They played and sang hymns. As the President remembered it, his father's voice was tenor.

He believed that in physical appearance, his brother Roy, now dead, resembled his father more than any of the other brothers who grew to manhood. Roy and the elder Eisenhower both retained their hair in middle age while the other brothers grew bald. It would be impossible, he felt, to say who of the brothers resembled the father most in mentality or temperament.

The President tended to discount stories of his fights with his brother Edgar when they were boys. He and Edgar were practically the same age, he explained, and in their section of the country fights between boys were so common that nobody paid much attention to them. Fisticuffs or wrestling were really games of a sort, by which boys pitted their strength against each other in a competitive spirit. There was more fun in them than older onlookers might have realized.

Who Can Lick Whom?

In a lighter vein, I informed the President that I had come recently from Edgar's home. "Edgar says that today he's in such good physical shape that he certainly could lick you."

The President drew back in his chair and threw up both hands as if in shocked amazement. He had just heard something utterly incredible.

Oh, no, Edgar couldn't whip him! The grin returned. And then he repeated that his brother could not lick him.

There came to mind a remark which William E. Robinson, president of the Coca Cola Company, had made about the President. Mr. Robinson, a longtime friend and golfing companion of the man in the White House had stated that the President was gifted with an amazing "prescience," a degree of foresight that must surely be instinctive. He said that, in his belief, this might account for what some people called the "Eisenhower luck." I asked the President about it.

He said he felt it was pretty difficult to define just what a man's instinct really was. As for the observations of his friend, he said, they might be due to the fact he had fairly good judgment in choosing his associates. Some people who had been sent to him with good recommendations, he said, failed to make the grade when placed in a position of trust or responsibility, but most of the people he had selected for specific jobs performed them well, in his opinion.

Then the President thoughtfully and slowly strayed from the point. After all, the really important thing, he stated, is that a man should attain peace in his conscience and the

. . . "All the brothers are quick-tempered. This observation applies to the President in no small degree. His temper can be explosive and hot"

satisfaction which comes from a job well done. This dictum appears to be a general family maxim among the Eisenhowers. When I talked to Major John S. Eisenhower, the President's son, he emerged with the same thought.

"After all the most important thing is one's self-respect," he said gravely.

I recalled to the President that in Winston Churchill's memoirs, the British prime minister, like Mr. Robinson, had made a point of the President's farsightedness. The President's eyes began to twinkle, almost as if he were suppressing an inner chuckle. He said he couldn't say why Mr. Churchill [he was not yet Sir Winston] used the word, "farsighted," but he knew that Mr. Churchill always had a reason, even if undefined, for his words and actions.

Looking back in his association with the British statesman during the war, the President said he fully appreciated the fact that the allied military accomplishment in Europe was called amazing by a great many people, and that Mr. Churchill expressed the sentiment of many who knew the scale of the military project on which the allied armed forces embarked. Probably few have believed before the invasion that the allied forces could possibly have beaten the almost intact military force of the German Army in so short a time as they finally did. The President said he thought Mr. Churchill had in mind the speed and completeness of victory when he made the remark I had mentioned.

How President Treats Visitors

During our conversation, the President gave me his complete attention, never trying to lead the conversation, and never showing signs of impatience. Not once did he employ the protective presidential device of "no comment." His blue eyes were sharp and penetrating. You felt that he always sized up visitors for himself, regardless of any recommendations which a newcomer might bring with him.

The President's complexion is a combination of red-pink with graying blond hair on his balding head. He looked much younger than his sixty-four years as he slouched in his swivel chair, completely relaxed. Basically, however, Dwight D. Eisenhower is a man in motion. This is noticeable not only in the youthful spring of his walk but in the constant physical reactions of his body when he sits relaxed in his chair. His big hands were constantly in motion during our interview. He played with his horn-rimmed glasses and sometimes chewed the ear-pieces. His hands were huge and sinewy, the hands of a farm boy; I remembered that his mother's hands were also said to be large and strong. Occasionally he played with the top of his right ear for no apparent reason.

The President was dressed in a light gray flannel suit. A black and gold striped necktie disappeared into his gray vest, one button of which was unbuttoned at the waistline. There was no crease in his sleeves. His waist was still slender for a man of middle years. He wore black socks and black shoes. He was dressed with meticulous care and neatness, as befitted the West Point tradition, in conservative clothes which suggested prosperity with no trace of showiness. The necktie, I learned, was made in Austria.

I thought the motions of his hands were reflexes of his restless energy which, no matter how well controlled, needed an outlet. With the ever mobile twists of his mouth he seemed to be capable of creating a mood which was almost as expressive as his spoken word. This facial appearance reinforced the meaning of everything he said, so that you could see that his sentences were the sincere and truthful utterances of the whole man. He seemed to have a favorite word to emphasize a point. He would say "particularly," with a sharp accent on the "tic."

An Answer for Each Question

At times our discussion ranged far from the original subject. When some knotty problem came up, the President paused. He sometimes turned in his swivel chair with an energetic movement. With his back to his desk and to his visitor, he looked through the wide French window facing the Washington Monument. Shortly after, he swung back to his original position and the answer was soon forthcoming. When a question was raised which had escaped the President's knowledge, he didn't dismiss the question abruptly.

Members of his press conference must have noticed that in such instances the presidential thought is usually expressed in words such as, "Ladies and Gentlemen, I don't believe I have all the facts on this subject, but I would say this. . . ." In these press conferences the President winds up with the answer he wants, just as if all the facts were at his disposal in the first place.

All the brothers are quick-tempered. This observation applies to the President in no small degree. His temper can be explosive and hot. Apparently he doesn't burn slowly inside until his anger reaches a boiling point. His anger bursts suddenly and as suddenly subsides. I witnessed this sudden ire of his at his first press conference in New York, shortly after he returned from Europe to wage a campaign for the nomination to the presidency. A man from the press group, queried General Eisenhower about his alleged association with Alger Hiss. The man's allusion and his manners were both offensive. The five-star general in mufti was being faced by a man whose hands were in his pockets, calling him on the carpet with accents so challenging as to be insulting. Dwight D. Eisenhower's face and neck turned red. His jaw jutted out and the veins of his forehead protruded. He actually made a menacing step toward his questioner, with head launched forward like that of a gladiator. He roared, "What did you say?" This justifiable rage of his lasted no more than a split second. Then he regained his composure. "Ladies and gentlemen, I want to say one thing," the General observed with self-restraint: "I do not believe that it is necessary for me to defend myself against Communism or Fascism in any form. . . ." Cheers went up from the group of newsmen.

The impressions of Dwight Eisenhower, as a member of a family, as a boy and a man and, of course, as President, came only in part from our personal interview. They came from talks with the other brothers; with Chris and Amanda Musser, the only living uncle and aunt of the Eisenhowers on the Eisenhower side of the family tree when I visited them in 1948; with Mrs. Alice M. Lucas, at her home in Yakima, Washington. Today Mrs. Lucas is the only living aunt in the family, and is a member of the Stover branch. My impressions also came to me from interviews with Major John S. Eisenhower, the President's only son, at Fort Leaven-

. . . Major John Eisenhower: "Almost any trouble or frustration that I run through in the Army, Dad has experienced at some time . . . and he is able to be of great help to me sometimes"

worth, Kansas, and from his wife, Barbara and their son, David Eisenhower 2nd. One scholarly informant about the family was Charles Moreau Harger, editor of the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, who died in March, 1955.

I once sat with Mr. Harger in the coffee shop of the Sunflower Hotel in Abilene, and a typical small boy of that small Kansas town scampered across the street in front of our window. There was nothing about him to distinguish him from other small boys of the neighborhood. "That boy might have been Dwight D. Eisenhower as a boy," said Mr. Harger. "None of us ever dreamed that Dwight would ever be where he is today. Maybe that boy you see there will someday be President."

Over coffee in her home, Mrs. Amanda Musser showed me a family album containing a picture of Dwight standing at rigid salute in the uniform of a brigadier general. Mrs. Musser said the photograph had special significance for the family because of the inscription. The inscription read, "To my mother, with abiding love and affection from her devoted son, Dwight . . . June 15, 1942." This picture, a standard Signal Corps photograph, is the favorite picture of Milton Eisenhower, also, as well as of the Mussers.

The Father Is a Guide

The President's only son was very reserved about his father but able to cast some light on that father-to-son relationship which has existed through three generations, at least, of this family. In it, the father is more of a guide and counselor than a boss or director. The son is given broad freedom of choice. This is part of the heritage.

"I have found one thing," said Major John Eisenhower about his father. "Almost any trouble or frustration that I run through in the Army, Dad has experienced at some time or another in his career, and he is able to be of great help to me sometimes when I run across something that really puzzles me as to why it exists."

The major said there never was very much question in his mind, from the time he was a small boy, but that he would go into the Army some day, as his father had, although he discussed with his Uncle Edgar the possibility of going into the law. "The decision was absolutely my own," he said. "Dad did everything he could to help me, and he was most enthusiastic about it."

The major said he remembered consulting his father about what branch of the service to select as a cadet at West Point. "I remember very often little letters of advice that he sent me, sometimes unsolicited," he said. "He naturally knows what my nature is, and that very often I am inclined to take things too seriously. On occasion he has taken it upon himself to write me and advise me that maybe I ought to relax a little more sometimes." John told me that when he was promoted to captain in 1946, his father, a five-star general, quipped, "We are certainly glad to have some rank in this family. . . ."

The father's influence is also visible in the fact that the major's favorite reading is history, as is the President's. John placed particular emphasis on military history and the lives of great soldiers.

Something also of the Eisenhower family tradition, passing down from the President to the major, was apparent in John's remarks about golf. "Yes, I play golf, now," he said. "I played tennis while I was younger. Dad tried to get me interested in playing golf for a good many years, but I was always a little bit stubborn. It wasn't until I was twenty-eight years old that I took up the game, and now I work pretty hard at it. I am a long ways from catching up with Dad. He goes around in the low eighties. I haven't caught up with him but I'm working at it."

The major's wife, Barbara, says of the President that he put her at ease the first time they met, and that he "is a lot of fun to be around." Barbara met John in Austria, in 1946. She is the daughter of an army man. She did not meet the President, then a general, until after she came home, although she had talked to him once on the telephone, being tricked into this conversation by John.

When she and the General met, he had received only one photograph of her, a photograph taken on shipboard with her hair blowing. She did not think it a good picture. "You look far prettier than you did in your picture," the General told her.

John's six-year-old son, Dwight David Eisenhower 2nd, has a fountain pen with his name on it, given to him by his grandfather. He too plays golf, and has a set of clubs given to him by his grandfather's great golfing friend, Bobby Jones. According to his mother, David practices with his clubs more than he plays, although he has played two or three holes of a standard golf course with his father on several occasions. "It's too hard for a little fellow to play nine holes," says David's mother.

As for David, himself, he talked to me about his grandfather, the White House, Hopalong Cassidy, Roy Rogers, the "King of the Cowboys," and about a horse named "Trigger." David said he liked to go to the White House, and would like to live there.

"White House Is a Nice Building"

I asked him why. "It's a very nice building," he answered. "It's a big house and it's all white." I asked him what he really liked about it, and he said he liked "the lights up on the top, it's full of diamonds and stuff." David also said he liked to go up and down the White House halls, and he mentioned Abraham Lincoln's bed, though he denied ever sleeping in it. Asked who was Abraham Lincoln, the six-year-old said he was the "Thirteenth or fourteenth President." Asked why his grandfather lived in the White House, David, the Army man, answered simply and truly, "Because he's stationed there."

The influence of the President, then, is descending to this little grandson who is called David, as was the creamery engineer in Abilene, even though the little white clapboard home in Abilene and the big White House in Washington are far from each other in more ways than one.

Sometimes when I think of the President, I think back to Aunt Amanda Musser, who closed her eyes one day as she sat in contemplation of the strange ways of fate, within the family group. "It would be wonderful," she said, "if Dwight, after all these years, having traveled the whole circle, could bring peace to all mankind. Peace is the core of our religion."

From the President's Aunt Alice Lucas, chief of an apple-growing family in Yakima, Washington, I learned how careful the President is to keep up with birthdays and other

. . . Mrs. Roy Eisenhower: "There is something about Dwight that enables him to lay down his troubles when he sits down to relax"

family events—remembering relatives by card or other messages. It happened to be on October 14, Dwight's birthday, that I called on Aunt Alice. It suddenly occurred to her while I was calling that it was her nephew's birthday, and she found it the most natural thing in the world to telephone the White House to offer him the day's good wishes. The President was not in, but she talked with his personal secretary, Mrs. Ann Whitman, who assured her Dwight would be informed of his aunt's call as soon as he returned.

Mrs. Edna Eisenhower, Roy's widow, gave an interesting sidelight on the President's character. When asked who was the calmest in temperament of the Eisenhower brothers, she replied: "I think Dwight is. There is something about him that enables him to lay down his troubles when he sits down to relax. He can go to bed and sleep and let God take care of his troubles."

My own personal interview with the President ended all too quickly for me. I came away deeply impressed by the sincerity and integrity of the man who had answered me patiently from behind his desk. I came away more than ever convinced that the qualities he shares with his brothers can be traced directly to their God-fearing parents, and to the life they led, long years ago in their Kansas boyhood.

Twice in the closing minutes of that memorable half hour, the President's appointment secretary, Thomas E. Stevens, glided silently into the room and placed a small sheet of paper on the President's desk. The second time the President turned his head toward him and indicated in a low voice that he still had a few more minutes.

Once again I was conscious of the vast responsibilities and the constant pressure resting upon this man Dwight Eisenhower, the third son of David and Ida. I got up to go and the President reached out a friendly hand. With just a swift glance at the etchings on the wall of Washington, Lincoln, Franklin and the great Confederate leader, Robert E. Lee, I took my leave.

Some impulse impelled me as I reached the door to turn and say to the President of the United States, "Good luck to you, sir." That was the way I felt on leaving him. Perhaps I meant, "good fortune," rather than "good luck."

Chapter 7

ROY, THE PHARMACIST

ROY JACOB EISENHOWER, fourth of the six sons of David and Ida, grew to manhood and died at the age of fifty at his home in Junction City, Kansas, in 1942. That was the year his father died. The close family relationship which characterizes the living brothers still makes the memory of Roy an influence in their continuing affairs.

Roy's widow, Mrs. Edna Eisenhower, was one of the family guests who sat close to the rostrum on the steps of the Capitol when brother Dwight became the thirty-fourth President of the United States.

No book about the living Eisenhower brothers would be complete, nor would it depict with any rounded accuracy the real nature of the family, unless it took into account the life of Roy, who worked hard and played hard and laughed a great deal, quite unknown to fame, in his native Kansas and nowhere else.

My own knowledge of Roy comes principally from talks with his brothers and with his widow, who works today as a trained nurse in the offices of doctors Carr and Smiley, in the small town where she and her husband lived with their children for so much of their lives; from pictures of Roy in the family album; and from visits to nearby small towns on the Kansas plains where Roy lived.

Edna Eisenhower lives in a small apartment with her mother, now ninety-four years old. Edna has been a trained nurse for thirty-eight years, and was working in a hospital in Ellsworth, Kansas, when she met Roy. Roy was working in the local drugstore.

Roy was a pharmacist. When Dwight was making up a chart of the family, Edna wrote in her section of it that Roy was a "druggist." Dwight changed the word "druggist" to "pharmacist," and so it appears in this book. When Roy was graduated from Abilene High School, he took a special course in pharmacy. He received a diploma and a certificate from the State of Kansas permitting him to practice his chosen vocation. Then he went to work in a drugstore in Ellsworth, not many miles from his parents' home. While there he received an opportunity to buy a drugstore in Junction City. Roy built it up until it prospered. Because he lived so close to the home of his boyhood, he was the one Eisenhower brother who was most often a visitor there, when David and Ida were old.

To those who remember him, Roy stands out as a short, partly bald, fat man of jolly temperament, in love with jokes, in love with the day-to-day goings-on in Junction City, and in love with his wife and children. The President told me Roy was the son who most resembled their father. Roy was a thirty-second-degree Mason. He was a member of various Junction City civic associations, including the Chamber of Commerce. He was a "red hot Republican," taking far more of an active interest in local politics than any of his brothers. He liked to play golf whenever he could get away from the drugstore, which held him long hours on most days except Sundays. Edna believes Roy was superior in golf even to Edgar. He also loved to watch every competitive sport in his home town and in any other, such as Kansas City, that he could reach by automobile, taking his family with him.

Fort Riley is close to Junction City, and the affable druggist, Roy J. Eisenhower, was known to more officers and men at Fort Riley for many years than was his military brother Dwight. His store was where the soldiers traded, where they bought their soft drinks, periodicals and other merchandise, and met a good proportion of whatever civilian townsfolk they knew. It was a social center as well as a drugstore. Its owner was for some time president of the Ban Johnson Junior

. . . "Earl has found a great measure of solid satisfaction in living, affectionately, the life of the average small-town American citizen with his wife, his children and the neighbors"

Baseball League, and his small son, Bud, who was christened Lloyd Edgar, played on one of the teams. His two daughters, Peggy Jane and Patricia, were cheer leaders for their high school athletic teams.

° ° °

One of the pictures in Edna's family album shows Roy at his parents' home in Abilene, when his mother and father were very old. He and his father and two brothers, Earl and Arthur, are shown in their shirt sleeves, crouching on the lawn of the old clapboard house on South Fourth Street, in the mock line-up of a football team. Father Eisenhower is playing center, Arthur and Roy flank him at guard, and Earl is at tackle. Mother Eisenhower, wearing a broad grin, is posed directly back of her husband. She is the family team's quarterback. That picture shows Roy, the good-natured brother, his love for his family and the home of his boyhood.

Chapter 8

EARL, THE ENGINEER

EARL DEWEY EISENHOWER, general manager of *Suburban Life*, a bi-weekly newspaper in La Grange, Illinois, since 1954, and before that an electrical engineer for many years in Charleroi, Pennsylvania, is the least widely known of the five living brothers. Earl really prefers it that way. A friendly man and essentially modest, Earl has an aversion to living in big cities; delights in having "hundreds of friends"; loves to go fishing; and is not impressed by such mundane things as rank, riches or titles.

The father of two children (both of whom are students at Pennsylvania State University where Milton is President), happily married, and deeply interested in his new job as manager of an independent, non-political newspaper, Earl will confess to differing from his brother in the White House on a few political issues that have arisen during the past two years, but he would not want to seek publicity for himself or to cause embarrassment of any kind by differing with the President publicly. As a matter of fact, Earl would not willingly injure the feelings of anyone, if he could possibly avoid it, except three or four people he has disliked mildly for years. One was a sergeant he encountered while in the Army briefly during World War I.

Born in 1898, during the Spanish-American War, Earl acquired his middle name, Dewey, from the American admiral who steamed triumphantly into Manila Bay and became for a few brief years his nation's outstanding military hero. Personally, Earl can look at heroes quite objectively.

During his brother Dwight's inauguration on the Capitol steps in Washington, Earl remarked quietly to Edgar, the brother who happened to be standing right in front of him, "Come to think of it, he's just our kid brother."

Earl in his boyhood in Abilene, Kansas, passed naturally enough through the fist-fighting phase of adolescence, as did his older brothers. He played football on a high school team which won a state championship in 1916. He took part, with his younger brother, Milton, in amateur dramatics. But the competitive drive that has been a force within the older brothers, impelling them to strive toward worldly heights of demonstrable success, is not so dominant in Earl. He has found a great measure of solid satisfaction in living, affectionately, the life of the average small-town American citizen, with his wife, his children and the neighbors. Because of these traits, Earl, like Roy, was a frequent visitor at the home of his parents as long as they were living. (Indeed, all the brothers returned home often.)

I first met Earl at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1953, and it was there that our recorded interviews began. Later he took me out to his modest, two-story, wood home in the coal-mining town of Charleroi. This western Pennsylvania town had a population of a few more than 10,700 persons in 1940, and about 9,800 in 1950. It is pretty drab, as are most coal-mining towns, but Earl was fond of it and fond of its people.

° ° °

The ease with which his more famous brothers meet people impresses Earl. "I think I'm the one Eisenhower who can't meet people easily," he says. "I can't. Not half as well as Dwight and Milton, or Edgar or Arthur. They are a little more open than I've ever been. They're a little more friendly."

Earl is a friendly person, too, but inherently shy. In spite of more than thirty years' absence from Abilene, Earl's spiritual and mental roots are firmly fixed in that little white clapboard house on the south side of the tracks which today has become a national shrine. He retains to this day a deep love for his father. After an article of mine concerning the older Eisenhower generation was published in a national magazine, he autographed a family photograph for me and wrote the following little note underneath it:

> "I am glad you have taken the time and effort to show that my father was not a failure in life, just because he once failed in a small business. His contribution to six boys, my mother and his community cannot be measured in dollars and cents."

° ° °

Earl is of medium size, five feet, ten or thereabout, the same size and build as his father David. He is masculine, broad-shouldered and stocky. His hands are big and strong. It is easy to recognize that prior to engineering these hands built fires in the furnaces, washed milk cans and hauled ice in the Belle Springs Creamery in his home town.

Of all the brothers, Earl's voice most closely resembles Dwight's. His left eye was injured twice in his youth, and he almost lost his sight. He is never without glasses. His reddish-blond hair is thinning but he is not bald. His complexion is rugged and suggests outdoor activities. I found great physical likeness between Earl and Dwight, but that is debatable, according to Earl.

° ° °

Earl is good-natured with a lively sense of humor. My first

. . . "Earl is the only one of the brothers who, upon completing his education, decided that he would like to travel abroad and see a little of the world"

impression was that because of his shyness and reserved nature he is anxious to take refuge in privacy. At first glance he looks pretty serious and I had the distinct feeling that Earl resents any prying into his family life. "A lot of nonsense and half-truth have been written about the Eisenhowers," he explained. Publicity-wise, Earl is very much like Arthur, who not only resents interviews about his family, but gets pretty nervous when called on the interviewing carpet. Earl's ingrained dislike, however, was soon dissolved when he learned what I really was after. He warmed up and was soon talking like a seasoned politician.

His laugh is hearty and it doesn't take long to get those highly sensitive laugh muscles into action. His tastes are simple and since he has lived most of his life in small towns he finds fun and recreation in the grass-root social activities of his community. "You will come with me to the annual Pancake-Day-Breakfast tomorrow," he told me one day. "That will be something!" He announced it with a glowing face. "You can eat as many pancakes as you wish."

There is an innate unaffected goodness in Earl.

* * *

Earl is a devoted family man. "It's a pity that I can't spend more time with my family," he confided once while we were driving over the smoky hills from Pittsburgh to Charleroi. His wife, the former Kathryn Snyder, daughter of the late Henry P. Snyder, editor of the Connellsville *Courier*, was raised in the atmosphere of newsprint, and learned early about the significance of news. Her father, a cultured and influential editor who founded the paper in 1879, instilled in her an interest in journalism.

With this background Kathryn Eisenhower surveys with a professional eye the avalanche of publicity that engulfs the Eisenhower family. She too is modest, like Earl. "We have little privacy these days," she says regretfully. "My real concern is that the constant publicity about the Eisenhowers may affect unfavorably the development of our two children, Kathryn, who is twenty-one, and Earl D. Jr., or Bud, who is seventeen."

Earl is a chain smoker and quite restless in spirit. This attitude of his seemed strange in a man who has an aversion to the buzzing activities of the big city. He seems to be constantly on the go, and it is hard to see how he can be content with a desk job. "I would never live in New York or Washington," he said to me one day, "but I can't stand monotony, either."

* * *

In one interview with Earl, I asked him why he took up engineering as a life work.

"I think," he said, "and I'm trying to be perfectly honest with you . . . I think I took up engineering because I realized I was the homeliest Eisenhower in the family."

"What do you mean by homeliest?" I asked.

"Well, I had red hair and a big mouth."

"Don't say that," I objected. "You look like the President, and he is a good-looking man."

"Then I've just insulted him," said Earl.

In view of the great adventures which have befallen Dwight and Milton Eisenhower, it might be considered that they are the most adventurous of the brothers. Yet in one respect Earl in his youth had a greater sense for adventure.

He is the only one of the brothers who, upon completing his education, decided that he would like to travel abroad and see a little of the world before settling down to a steady job. With a college chum, he got a job as cadet engineer in the crew of the cabin liner *President Grant*, then plying between Pacific Coast ports and the Orient. He traveled to the Philippines, Japan and China. When that voyage ended, he settled down with apparent contentment to life for many years in western Pennsylvania as electrical engineer for a power company. Dwight saw the world by joining the Army. Earl was a volunteer traveler for the sake of travel. He seems to be one of the most contented of the Eisenhowers.

Chapter 9

MILTON, THE EDUCATOR

EARLY IN 1953, when Milton Stover Eisenhower, now president of Pennsylvania State University, was opening the national campaign of the American Heart Association at a dinner in New York, this youngest brother in the Eisenhower clan made an eloquent and forceful address, as he always does when the occasion calls for one. A guest at the dinner was Milton's older brother, Dwight, then President-elect of the United States. After the dinner Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke briefly and well.

"When I was elected president of Columbia University," he said, "there were some people who, knowing my brother, Milton, thought the trustees had elected the wrong Eisenhower. If the people of the country hear a few more speeches like the one they've just heard tonight, they will begin to think the same thing about this latest job I've been elected to."

For all the humor in Dwight's remarks, there was an underlying sincerity in them. Brother Dwight knew very well that Milton had won a high reputation in the civil service of the federal government, long before he himself had risen to be a general. Dwight knew of Milton's magnificent record as an educator at Kansas State College, which led him to the presidency of Pennsylvania State University. The more famous brother knew also of Milton's accomplishments in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the high regard in which Milton had been held by successive presidents of the United States—even those of opposite political faith. When Dwight, as a general, was reluctantly being drawn into the political field, he told an associate, "I think I would rather take Milton's views than those of anyone else. He's a unique brother. He's got the respect of all the older ones."

The deep understanding which exists today between these two brothers began in the early 1930's when Dwight

. . . Dwight: "I think I would rather take Milton's views than those of anyone else. He's a unique brother. He's got the respect of all the older ones"

was a major, attached to the office of General Douglas MacArthur, who was then Chief of Staff. Dwight stood beside General MacArthur during the ill-starred veterans' bonus march on Washington. At that time Milton, working for the Department of Agriculture, had a home at 24th and Massachusetts Avenue. Major Eisenhower used to bring his paperwork out to Milton's home, evenings, and the two men would work on opposite sides of the dining room table—each on his own problems.

It was during those evenings that Dwight formed the opinion of Milton which led him later to remark, "I like to ask his advice on things when I'm anxious to get down on paper exactly what I mean." Milton, at the same time, found his brother Dwight more than helpful. "I helped Ike and he helped me," he said later. "When neither of us had a specific job to do we just batted ideas back and forth."

Milton Is the Intellectual

Milton is by far the most intellectual and scholarly of the Eisenhower brothers. Perhaps it is his personal misfortune that within his own generation, in his own family, there is a brother who overshadows him in the public eye. He, like his brothers, is a man of considerable sensitivity and pride. But there is no hint, in any utterance of Milton's or any attitude he has ever taken, that he feels hurt in any way at all by Dwight's more spectacular public career. On the contrary, he has remarked with deep feeling and obvious sincerity that he believes his brother Dwight to be one of the greatest men of modern times.

Because of the mutual admiration which exists between these two brothers, Milton, although holding no paid official position within the government of the United States, may be said in all accuracy to be one of its most important personages. Milton is a member of the President's Committee on Government Organization, and is special ambassador for Latin American affairs, but these are part-time responsibilities only for which he accepts no remuneration. His full-time task is that of university president. Often there is telephone communication between Milton and the President. Milton spends weekends at the White House whenever his pressing schedule permits. Indeed, he was being invited to the White House as a man of some importance in his own right as far back as the administration of Calvin Coolidge. Looking through the scrapbook of Mrs. Helen Eisenhower, Milton's late wife, I was amused to find an engraved invitation bidding her husband attend a reception at the White House, January 13, 1927.

Few men have sufficient depth of character to yield to another the loyal and loving service which Milton gives Dwight, with no twinge of jealousy. If ever their father and their mother had reason to be proud of any qualities of their offspring, they would surely be proud today of the relationship existing between these two brothers.

° ° °

Milton is probably the best-dressed Eisenhower. Yet he challenged the verdict of a recent dress manufacturers' pool that picked him as one of the ten best-dressed men in the country. "That's because I'm the President's brother," he said disgustedly. It is true, however, that whatever he wears is in good style. His ties harmonize with his shirts and suits, and he is not likely to wear light tan shoes with his conservative blue suit. The Eisenhowers all wear glasses now, but Milton has worn them since youth. At four, Milton's eyesight was seriously affected by an almost fatal bout with scarlet fever.

The tendency of the Eisenhowers to become bald early has not escaped Milton, but nature has been kinder to him than to his brothers Arthur, Edgar and Dwight. Milton's mouth is wide, with heavy sensitive lips shaped perfectly for a wide grin. His eyes are greenish-brown. His nose has a straight line and with a little charity one can classify it as Greek. Milton appears less muscular than his brothers, whose fist fights became part of the folklore of Abilene. The years Milton spent in diplomatic circles and with the social elite of the world have softened whatever ruggedness of manner there was in him when he left his Kansas home. On the other hand, what some storywriters attribute to shyness is not shyness at all. There is plenty of daring and toughness in Milton. One can hardly accomplish all he has done without courage, stamina and steadfastness.

Troubles With Early Illness

In order to appreciate the driving energy and ambition that have carried Milton to his present high level of accomplishment, it is necessary to know that he was a sickly child. His brothers were tough fighters in a physical sense; in the battles of boyhood on the wrong side of the tracks. Of his early weakness and determination to be strong, Milton had this to say: "The reason for my own scholarly efficiency may have been that whereas my brothers were all quite efficient in sports, I was the clumsiest thing you ever saw. I always made the third football team and the fourth baseball team. Or I was water boy. I suppose that was in my subconscious as I sought to match my brothers in what I considered to be their excellence. I had to make up in some way for my deficiency in physical sports. Therefore I think probably I studied a little harder, striving to get high grades and thus gain recognition in one form to match what they got in another."

° ° °

Milton's paintings are those of a better-than-average Sunday painter. He plays the piano and has played since boyhood. He also plays the organ. He is better at this than at painting. Milton played a wedding march at the wedding of his brother Roy in 1917, just after he had finished high school. According to Roy's widow, Mrs. Edna Eisenhower, in whose home the wedding was held, Milton was to have played Mendelssohn's "Wedding March," but forgot it and improvised a march from another classical composition.

At the age of forty-three, Milton became president of Kansas State College. He made a truly spectacular success of his first college presidency.

With the aid of a private grant, he set up an Institute of Citizenship. The institute uses discussion methods and original source materials to teach courses with such titles as "Freedom and Responsibility," "The Journalist in a Free Society," and "War, Peace and the World Community."

Four "comprehensive" courses were set up, one for each major area of knowledge: "Man and the Physical World," "Man and the Social World," "Biology in Relation to Man," and "Man and the Cultured World." Most students were required to take the three comprehensives which were outside

. . . "Milton's activities increased in staggering proportion after Dwight's election"

their own field of specialization, and some students—journalism majors, for example—had to take all four of them.

Under a dean of students efforts were made to organize student extracurricular life in ways leading to that personal maturity, poise and social adjustment which are "proper aims" of education. Student participation in the shaping of college policies was developed to an unusual degree, students being represented on nearly all policy committees and the student council having wide governing powers.

Practically the entire faculty was organized in a complicated committee structure to develop a "philosophy of education" for the college and to study the curriculums with a view to their revision in the interests of more "general" education—and Eisenhower himself met weekly with chairmen of the various committees.

Beyond those innovations Milton took advantage of the lushest years Kansas had known to boost faculty salaries an average of 75 percent—more than matching the rise in living costs—and to put through the largest building program in the college history, an expansion made imperative by a rise in enrollments from around 4,000 before the war to about 7,500 before he left. Nowhere were his special talents more evident than in his dealings with the legislature.

He also engaged in extensive off-campus activities which he justified to himself, and to the board of regents, partly as "national service" but mostly as "building prestige for the institution."

It was after his arrival at Pennsylvania State College that this old institution became a state university.

Milton: the Polished Speaker

All the Eisenhower brothers have a fluent command of the English language, but Milton's diction is more polished and more precise, in an academic sense, than that of his brothers. The President's speaking style comes pretty close to Milton's, but the President's speech is clipped and sharp. Dwight speaks as a man who is accustomed to command. Milton speaks like a teacher in a mild tone and with reasoning. During our recorded conversation Milton was always seated. Not once did he rise to pace the room as Edgar did, and as other energetic and tense people do. His facial expression changed with instantaneous reaction to what was being said. The face is mobile. From time to time he turned in his swivel chair while carrying on the conversation.

Because of his kinship to the President of the United States, Milton's activities increased in staggering proportion after Dwight's election. In addition to governing a vast and growing educational institution, Milton has acted frequently in the role of diplomatic troubleshooter for the President. This is not an unfamiliar role; he was entrusted with diplomatic missions by two Democratic presidents, Roosevelt and Truman.

One might assume that a man with such varied and grave responsibilities would be harassed, tense or impatient. The fact is that Milton is balanced, good-natured and courteous. Through a system known only to himself he is capable of coping with the amazing variety of chores entrusted to him. He is calm and even-tempered when working and talking. I happened to be with him more than once when domestic and international politics were turbulent. White House phone calls frequently interrupted him. The President of the United States and the president of Pennsylvania State University talked "shop" for awhile. Then Milton returned to the interview as if no interruption had occurred.

* * *

Milton has one gift that is very rare. He can speak extemporaneously, in perfect grammar, without any hesitation whatever, in sentences which read as well when printed as they sound in oral delivery. A tape recorded interview I made with him at the Mayflower Hotel was interrupted by telephone calls. One call was from the White House. Here are some excerpts from that interview, completely unedited, to show the way Milton talks.

* * *

Q. Which one of the brothers has a talent for making speeches?

A. I might take the brothers one by one. Arthur, the banker, makes an acceptable speech, but he hates it so much that he limits himself to one a year. Edgar, the lawyer, of course, uses speech professionally; I think that so far as his work in court, before the American Bar Association and before other groups is concerned, he speaks quite competently. The President, of course, is superb in his logic in speaking. He is good in the use of illustration. He is a little impatient of the purely physical aspects of speech, and therefore no one would make the error of calling him a polished speaker. However, I personally think he is a good speaker because his meaning comes through, and sincerity is evident in every word—and this to me is a good speech. Earl, the engineer, has no reason for making many public speeches though he has dipped into local politics a little and I should think his manner of speaking would be acceptable.

On July 10, 1953, Milton suffered a grievous loss in the death of his wife, the former Helen Eakin, to whom he had been married since 1927. She left him a son, Milton S. Jr., now a lieutenant in the United States Army in Germany, and Ruth, now sixteen and a junior in high school.

Before a conversation with Milton which occurred shortly after his wife's death, I had learned from Edgar how completely the former Helen Eakin had made herself one of the Eisenhower family circle. Edgar showed me with an appreciative and admiring chuckle a letter in which Milton's wife reminded him, "Don't forget that I'm a pretty stubborn Eisenhower myself."

* * *

Church Membership

Like his brother Dwight, Milton is a devout church member. He is a member of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church of State College, Pa. So was Mrs. Eisenhower. Milton, Jr., a devoted Episcopalian, was an acolyte when he was younger. And Ruth, also a faithful Episcopalian, sings in the church choir twice each Sunday.

* * *

Josephine Groesbeck, Milton's very efficient secretary, later told me a story. The morning after Mrs. Eisenhower's funeral, Milton came to the breakfast table in the dining room alone. He sat there a moment, waiting. Then he heard a companion coming. His daughter came into the room and took her place in her mother's empty chair. "Good morning, Father," said Ruth, with poise and affection. Milton took off his spectacles and looked at her across the table. He is a strong man and his emotions are always under control. One gets the feeling on talking with Milton that he is both good and great.

Chapter 10

HOME WAS A HOUSE OF WORSHIP

EVERY TIME I talked with one of the Eisenhower brothers about his boyhood home, his first and almost instantaneous reaction was to stress the religious atmosphere which pervaded it. Both of their parents were steeped so completely from their early childhood in the teachings of the Bible, and in the interpretation of the Bible by their Mennonite or River Brethren elders, and later by the writings of "Pastor Russell," that their whole lives were governed by religious feeling. David and Ida prayed in their home each morning and evening. Within the home they often held religious services for the family and neighbors. Ida used the piano in her parlor for the playing of hymns. She loved to expound the Scriptures, and she stood up to do it, with her family around her.

"Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom," she would say, and then, from memory, quote literally hundreds of verses as she brought her discriminating judgment to bear upon all the problems of life.

Deep Influence of Religion

The home of the Eisenhower boys, then, was a church or house of worship quite as much as it was a place in which the family worked, ate, played or slept. Religion was the one force that dominated the lives of everyone who lived in the frame house in Abilene, Kansas, in those faraway years, long ago. As this single fact common to all the brothers became obvious, I naturally asked them many questions in order to ascertain the exact nature of this religion and its influence upon them.

"Deeply religious as your parents were, did they insist that you boys attend church services?" I asked Milton.

"I think that they did when we were small; but here it is necessary to understand something about one of their religious beliefs," Milton answered. "They did not believe in infant baptism, for example. Their reasoning was that one's baptism in the church ought to result from his own mature thinking, knowledge and judgment. Therefore, as I put this fact together with other vague memories, I can only conclude it is correct to say this: After we reached the age of reason they did not insist that we go to church; they wanted us to do so as a result of our own convictions."

"Was it your father's habit to quote from the Scriptures, and would he point out the morals of the Bible as an ethical code for you boys to follow?" I asked.

"Yes, certainly," said Milton. "Father and Mother both quoted freely and constantly from the Bible."

Then Edgar made a surprising statement.

"Father was really a free thinker," he said. "If you look at his history, you will find that after he married Mother, who was a Lutheran, he went to the Lutheran Church. Later, for a time, he went to the Methodist Church. He went most to the River Brethren Church. Eventually, he broke away from the River Brethren Church and met with what was then referred to as the 'Bible Students.' He read all the religious literature available. All his life he was searching for an answer. That's the reason I have said to myself—and now to you—that Dad was, in this sense, a free-thinking individual. Dad had an inquiring mind. He was looking for something. He wasn't satisfied with the formulas that were given to him."

"Did he find the answer?"

"No," Edgar answered, "No, not till the day of his death. He didn't find the answer. He even left the last organization that he ever joined, because he couldn't go along with the sheer dogma that was so much a part of their thinking. . . ."

"Edgar may be right in saying that Dad did not find *the* answer," Milton commented later. "But of the great cardinal concepts in our religious tradition there was never the slightest doubt in his mind or Mother's. They both had a sublime faith in God and in His teachings."

Religious Services at Home

I asked Earl if there were religious services performed in his parents' home, as is often the custom with Mennonites and River Brethren, or whether there was also a church building for them in town.

"Oh, there were both," Earl replied. "They had a place of worship where the congregation would go. When they met in our house or one of the other houses, that was a different situation. They sat around and everyone had something to say. All participated in the studies and discussions. Mother played the piano, and they sang a hymn before and a hymn afterwards, and they had their prayers."

° ° °

It was Arthur who first talked about the chart his father drew of the Pyramids of Egypt, and I asked him what its purpose was.

"This chart," said Arthur, "was about ten feet long and probably five or six feet high. It was his own idea. I presume it stemmed from his engineering experience and knowledge, but he tried to prove prophecies for the future as well as prophecies in the Bible that had been fulfilled. By extending the lines of the Pyramids, the passageways, the mechanical measurements, and all that sort of thing, he proved to his own satisfaction that the Bible was right in its prophecies. I want to point out, though, that when you reach a conclusion, you can always find evidence to prove your point and I think that's what Dad did. He was very much satisfied with his chart."

° ° °

Edgar said: "We boys are all religious but we don't go around saying 'I'm a religious man' anymore than we would say, 'I'm an honest man,' or 'I'm a clean man,' or 'I pay my bills.'"

Both Edgar and Milton responded to questions about their brother Dwight's frequent expression of religious sentiment since he became President, and of the fact that he joined the Presbyterian Church after the election.

"Ever since he has been in the White House," I told Milton, "the President has impressed everyone with the fact he feels the need of going to church and practicing his religion. To what would you attribute, Dr. Eisenhower, the change in the President's attitude toward ritual?"

"Well, certainly, the President is a deeply religious man," answered Milton. "This is an inner conviction and feeling deeply held and nothing could conceivably shake it. Throughout his long military career he attended church, on military posts and elsewhere, but he was never in a single community long enough to be a real part of it. Now, basically—and here I am making an observation on the basis of long acquaintance without ever having discussed the point with him—I think he may not like the purely ritualistic aspects of religion because they are merely an outward manifestation, whereas the true significance of religion is something that is in the mind and in the heart. The phrase 'may not like' is too strong. I should

. . . Milton: "It is necessary . . . for the President of the United States to give spiritual stimulation as well as political and social leadership"

have said he is probably 'not moved or impressed by the purely ritualistic aspects of religion.'

"Now, when you become the leader of a nation, the leader of a free world, it becomes necessary not only to find the inner satisfaction which religious understanding can bring, but also to stimulate others in a thousand ways. Well, here we come to another fact, then: Ours is a religious nation. Our Constitution, our Declaration of Independence, all of our basic documents, are political expressions of certain cardinal religious concepts. Thus, it is necessary, I think, in order to protect American democracy and freedom in the world, for the President of the United States to give spiritual stimulation as well as political and social leadership. Most people find it best to adhere to religious conviction through some physical connection with the church and physical participation in ritualistic exercises. This being so, it is good and right for the President of the United States to go to church regularly and to stimulate others to do likewise. Thus, I find, you see, no great change, no conflict in the two points of view or circumstances that I have tried to state.

"I know that I personally gain much, in my personal and public life, by being a regular worshiper at my church. This became part of me as a youngster—when my parents were River Brethren, and then Bible Students—and I have never lost that feeling, that conviction."

Ike's Leadership in Religion

Edgar put it this way: "Dwight probably is the most selfless and devout individual that history has ever lifted to the pinnacle where he now stands. He is the representative of the American people. As their representative he must set an example in his conduct.

"He has a very keen appreciation of the requirements of the office he occupies. Now, it is as easy and natural for him to acknowledge that he is religious as it is for you or me, because, as I say, we were raised with religious convictions, understanding, and faith. While I have not discussed the matter with him, I know that Dwight's attitude now is that because he represents the great American people who are made up of divergent religious sects, he should so conduct himself that he truly represents them all—not any one group, or any one denomination."

Edgar indicated that he did not know why the President selected the Presbyterian Church, but he was sure it was for a "reason that's good for him and sufficient for him, and it is sufficient to me." Several of the brothers indicated that the President's specific choice was influenced by the fact that his wife has always belonged to the Presbyterian Church, as has her mother.

From research into the family history it became clear that as the Eisenhower brothers left their boyhood environment within the narrow confines of a small Christian sect of their parents and grandparents, their views on religion broadened but did not diminish, just as their knowledge of the modern world was broadened by education and work far from the town of their boyhood, without lessening their allegiance to the lessons of boyhood. In the twentieth century, they no longer shared the mental outlook of the nineteenth. To at least one of the brothers, Edgar, it seemed in the 1940's that the deep, sincere and even evangelical religious fervor of his mother was being used by some religionists, outside the family, to exploit her in her old age in a way she would no longer understand.

As a result of this feeling, he wrote a letter to the woman who was caring for his mother in the little white clapboard house in Abilene, which stands today beside the Eisenhower museum. This letter, in its gentleness and understanding, written by a strong man, firm in his belief that he must perform a disagreeable task well, for the benefit of everyone, is a classic of its kind. It throws upon the religious development of

—From the Eisenhower Museum

The last photograph of Ida Eisenhower, taken at Abilene, Sept. 10, 1946. The President's mother died the next day.

Edgar, at any rate, a light which may be as inspiring to others as any sermon.

It was written late in 1944 when his mother, then 82, was losing her memory of the past, though she remained physically active and buoyant. He began by saying he had been told that a stranger was staying at the house and that his mother was being taken out of the home and used for the purpose of distributing religious literature.

He went on to say that he accorded to all the right to their own particular religious beliefs.

"I have tried seriously to be impartial in my analysis of the different religious beliefs. I still remember how the friends and neighbors used to gather in our living room *for the purpose* of reading and discussing the Bible. That made sense to me.

"I know as well as anyone that Mother's faith in her God has undoubtedly prolonged her life. I believe Mother

. . . The President: "We pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling"

had the most sublime faith in God and the Bible of any person whom I have ever met."

He said he was willing to fight for her right to continue to believe as she saw fit, but he realized full well that at her advanced age, with failing memory, she could be easily and mistakenly influenced in performing any service which would be represented to her as helpful to the advancement of religious beliefs. He said that his mother could not exercise the discriminating judgment which had characterized her life of selflessness and service, and "for that reason it is our duty and yours to protect her against possible misunderstanding or misinterpretation."

"I hope you understand what I am trying to say. I may not be the best Bible student in the world, but a long time ago I came to the conclusion that, if there is a hereafter and if I am to be judged by an Almighty God who will determine the position which I may occupy after death, I am going to be gauged not so much by what I preach on the street corner as by the way I conduct myself and particularly toward my fellow beings.

"Mother earned her place in Heaven through the services which she performed during her active life for her neighbors and friends, and that service, as you well know, consisted principally of alleviating their pain and distress, and I think she is no longer called upon to be taken from place to place and exhibited as the mother of General Eisenhower—solely for the purpose of attempting to influence anyone in his religious thinking.

"I want Mother shielded and protected and not exposed or exhibited. . . .

"I think Mother's home should be maintained solely for her intimate friends and relatives and that no stranger should be permitted to live in the house regardless of who he may be. . . ."

He concluded his letter by indicating that he prayerfully hoped for an early ending of the European War and that "Dwight may return to this country and we can again have a family reunion in Abilene."

Basic Faith of All Brothers

The picture presented from all the interviews was that of a group of brothers in whose basic thinking religious faith and principle has been so thoroughly implanted as boys that they could never get away from it, even if they wanted to. At the same time, because of the unique nature of their home training, maturity and reflection caused several of the brothers to give less attention to formal worship and church attendance. While Dwight and Milton are exceptions to this, their religious faith and conviction, though obviously profound, is no greater than these qualities in the less conforming brothers.

It was in the closing stages of his campaign for the presidency that the deeply religious basis of Dwight D. Eisenhower's whole philosophy of life, and particularly his thinking about the American system of government, began to be evident to everyone who was listening to what he was saying. As thirty-fourth President of the United States, he chose to dramatize this central core of his thinking at his inauguration. Before launching into his inaugural address, he pulled from his pocket a brief prayer, which he had written the night before.

"My friends," he said, "before I begin the expression of those thoughts which I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads. . . ."

Then he read three brief paragraphs, with a simple sincerity which was inspiring to countless thousands of his countrymen who were watching him as he stood there on the steps of the Capitol in Washington. The prayer follows:

—From the Eisenhower Museum

"To my mother. With abiding love and affection from her devoted son Dwight — June 15, 1942"

"Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment, my future associates in the executive branch of government join me in beseeching that You will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng and their fellow citizens everywhere.

"Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby and by the laws of this land. Especially, we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.

"May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who under the concepts of our constitution, hold to differing political faiths: so that all may work for the good of our beloved country, and Thy glory. Amen."

THE TOUGH MR. MOLOTOV

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

AT SAN FRANCISCO

MANY WHO READ the speech delivered before the United Nations assembly here last week by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov will certainly wonder if their eyes deceive them.

For here is the name-calling, arch denouncer of our times using sweet, honeyed words to proclaim that the Communist regimes have been "peace-loving" all these years and that a monster has been reared by the West which threatens an attack on the Soviet Union.

Those military bases in Europe, for example, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as Molotov tells it, are all part of a plan of "aggression." Hence he wants the bases dismantled, American and Allied troops withdrawn from Germany, armaments reduced. Then "peaceful co-existence" will be ushered in with Soviet blessings.

Molotov's speech shows that he is the same master of pretense and artifice that he has been for 25 years—the same bold and brazen spokesman of a criminal gang. He evidently thinks the rest of the world will swallow his misuse of the words "peace" and "aggression" and will not see through his crafty strategy which aims at disarming the Western Allies.

Molotov says he wants peace, of course. Some American and Western weaklings may want peace at any price, but the Soviet spokesman wants peace at no price at all to Russia.

This is not the basis for a sincere negotiation "at the summit." There isn't in the Molotov address the slightest evidence that the Soviet Union is repentant or ready to acknowledge any errors. Rather the Moscow Foreign Minister glories in what he calls the "peace-loving" record of both Red China and Red Russia.

The mothers and fathers and relatives of the tens of thousands of young men killed in Korea will wonder at the effrontery of Molotov, who prates about the rights of Red China to a seat in the United Nations as a prerequisite to peace. He ignores the fact that the United Nations itself declared the Peiping government an "aggressor." He conveniently forgets that only the aggressive behavior of the Soviet Government in blockading Berlin, in sending munitions to North Korea, in helping the Communist-led armies in Indo-China and in stirring up terrorism in North Africa and in Malaya is responsible for the tension that exists today.

Molotov's cure for tension is surrender by the West. His proposals for disarmament are cleverly couched in innocent phrases which take it for granted that people in the Western countries do not read things carefully.

The loopholes in the Russian disarmament plan are well known. While atomic weapons are to be barred, the U. N. Security Council would be authorized to make exceptions—subject, of course, to the veto. One can already visualize the Soviets voting to let the weapons be used when it is to their interest and vetoing any use when it is to their own military advantage to do so.

All through the Molotov speech runs an assumed unawareness that any action whatsoever has been taken in the last ten years by Soviet Russia and her Communist stooges to disturb the peace of the world. Only the West, he claims, has been playing the evil role.

How can there be a successful negotiation when men like Molotov are in power in Moscow and speak to the world in behalf of the Soviet Government? How can the United States, Great Britain and France accept the pledges of men who distort the words and records of history to their own advantage, with a complete disregard for facts and morality?

The Soviet line shows not the slightest sign of even the spirit of a change. Instead, the line has actually hardened and the West has been arrogantly defied.

Mr. Molotov is a tough customer. He has just given the world a preview of what to expect at Geneva. He demands everything and gives nothing. There can be no safety for any free country as long as the gangsters rule in Moscow and Peiping. But it may take a few painful experiences like the Molotov speech at the United Nations assembly to convince all of the Western leaders of that simple truth.

The delegates at San Francisco received the Molotov speech with mixed impressions. Some who saw through its fakery thought he was on the defensive and was putting up a bold front, knowing that the deterrent power of the West has immeasurably increased now that West Germany has been admitted to NATO. Others saw the same inflexibility which has always characterized Soviet diplomacy.

Our Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, with a dignity and restraint worthy of the American tradition, cut through all the bunkum of the Molotov address and, with a bit of realistic satire, told the United Nations assembly that the way for the Soviets to get peace is quite simple—obey the Charter of the U. N., refrain from the use or threat of force, and stop subversion and infiltration into other countries. It was sensible advice.

For full text of addresses, see page 75 for Molotov and page 82 for Dulles.

"National Accounting Machines save us $60,200 a year . . . return $1.44 annually for every $1.00 invested!"

—MOTOR CARGO, INC., *Akron, Ohio*

"National Accounting Machines save us $60,200 annually. They return their cost about every eight months . . . a 144% annual return on our investment.

"We purchased two National machines especially designed to analyze the revenue from nearly a MILLION freight bills a year. Eight months later these machines had returned their cost in savings . . . at the rate of one and eight-tenths cents a bill. On accounts payable, cash receipts, operations records and payroll, we are now using 6 additional Nationals, which have multiplied our total savings several times."

President
Motor Cargo, Inc.

MOTOR CARGO, one of the world's largest motor freight carriers, operates "America's most modern truck terminal" where freight never stops moving.

In your business, too, National machines will pay for themselves with the money they save, then continue savings as annual profit. Your nearby National man will gladly show how much you can save—and why your operators will be happier.

TRADE MARK REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

National

ACCOUNTING MACHINES

ADDING MACHINES • CASH REGISTERS

THE NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY, DAYTON 9, OHIO

977 OFFICES IN 94 COUNTRIES